

IN THESE TIMES

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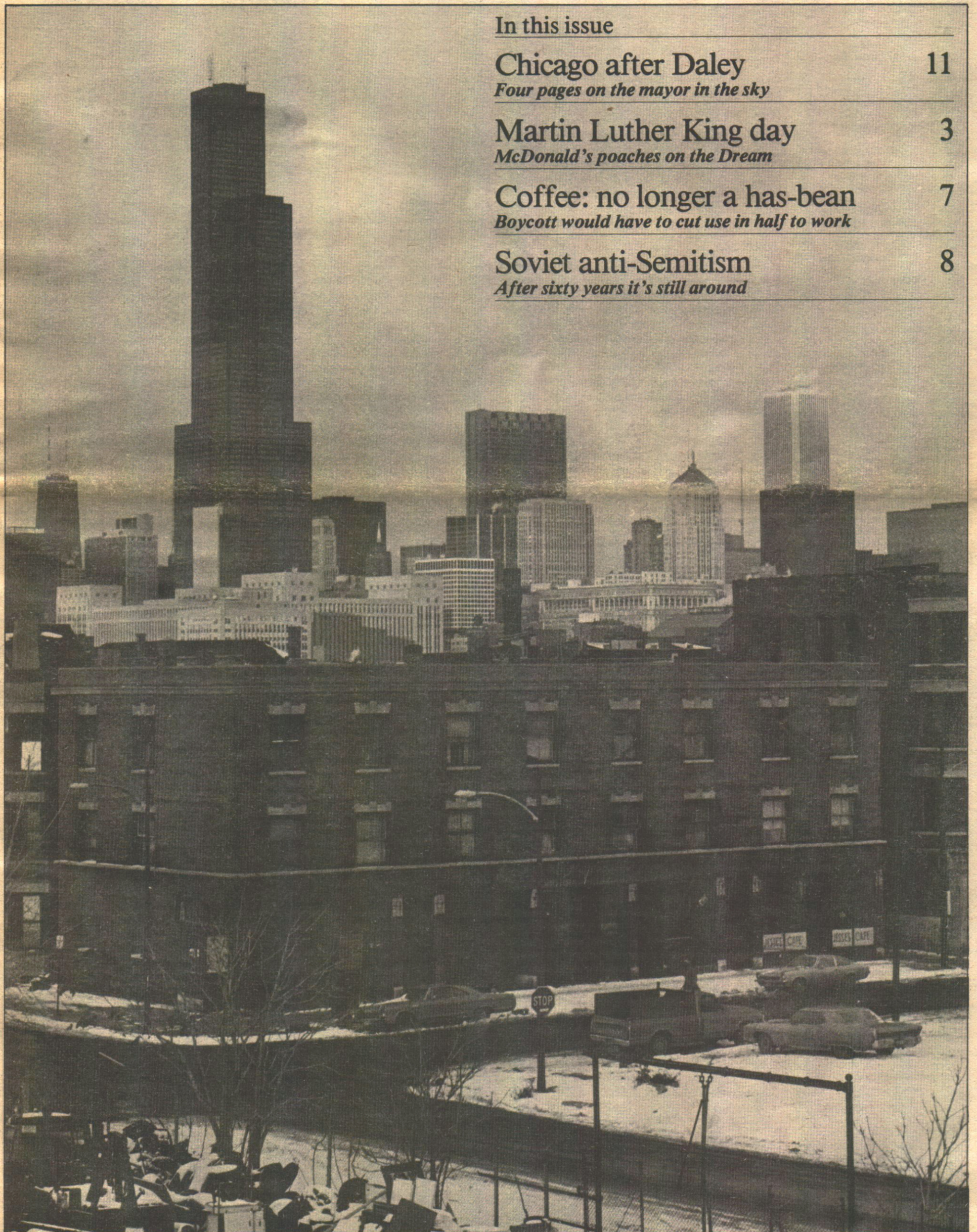
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THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

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NEWSFRONT

Even our great nation

Do our best

"We have learned that 'more' is not necessarily 'better,' that even our great nation has its limits, and that we can neither answer all questions nor solve all problems. We cannot afford to do everything, nor can we afford to lack boldness as we meet the future. So together in a spirit of individual sacrifice for the common good, we must simply do our best."

"We must simply do our best"—words that might have been spoken last week by Bobby Knight, whose Indiana Hoosier basketball team has already suffered six losses after last year's undefeated season; words that were spoken in fact by Jimmy Carter in his inaugural address.

Carter's team also had its losses: a dirty war in Vietnam after which it was necessary to seek accommodations with world communism; large-scale unemployment, which seems out of character in a prosperous America, but which Carter's economists see now as unavoidable.

Realism is better than the arrogance of power; detente is preferable to the holy war against Communism. And Carter's insistence that "the best way to enhance freedom in other lands is to demonstrate here that our democratic system is worthy of emulation" is a considerable advance over Kennedy's or Truman's call to arms.

But Carter's vision has no programmatic underpinning. For this reason, his modesty and realism, when appalled to domestic objectives, turns into rhetoric verging upon deceit. Will the appeal to put aside "more" and to recognize that "we can't do everything" become an injunction to endure poverty, unemployment, pollution, meaningless work, and decaying cities?

Indiana passes ERA

On Jan. 18 Indiana became the 35th state to pass the Equal Rights Amendment. Three more states must now ratify the amendment by March 1979 for it to become law.

"We have broken the back of the opposition," said Ruth Adams, the manager of the Indiana ERA campaign.

Karen DeCrow, president of the National Organization for Women, attributed passage of the ERA to work done by NOW and other feminist groups during the past election to elect pro-ERA legislators and defeat those who opposed the amendment. "We have high hopes that within the next couple of months it will work in other states," she said.

Votes are coming up early this year in North and South Carolina, Florida and Nevada.

Indiana's State Senate had twice before killed the ERA, but this time passed it 26-24. One state senator, W. Wayne Townsend, who decided to vote for the ERA this time, said he had been influenced by a personal phone call from Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter, urging him to vote for the amendment.

'Down with Sadat'

Shouting "Down with Sadat" and "Nasser, Nasser, Nasser," what the *Los Angeles Times* estimated as 20,000 workers and students demonstrated in downtown Cairo on Jan. 18. They smashed cars, broke shop windows, and ripped down a 10-foot high poster of President Anwar el-Sadat. In Alexandria workers tried to storm a villa belonging to Vice-President Hosni Mubarak but were driven back by police.

The immediate cause of the demonstrations was a steep government-ordered rise in the price of food and cooking gas.

On Jan. 19 Sadat rescinded the price rises and declared a curfew in Cairo and



Gorilla war in Chicago against Commonwealth Edison's request for a 14.5 percent rate increase on electricity.

Alexandria, the first in 20 years. But the demonstrations have continued in spite of these measures, suggesting that a deeper dissatisfaction with the Sadat regime underlies them.

Since he succeeded Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1970 Sadat has attempted to solve Egypt's economic problems by seeking foreign investment and loans, which had largely been denied Egypt because of Nasser's nationalization policies. Sadat declared an "open door" policy for foreign and domestic private industry.

But while Sadat's policies have encouraged the growth of Egypt's middle class and an influx of luxury goods, they have further impoverished workers and peasants. Reuters reports that big cars and night clubs were special targets of the demonstrators.

During this period, Egypt's foreign debt also rose sharply, increasing over sevenfold from 1973 to 1976 until it has reached \$15 billion. With this size debt, the International Monetary Fund is reported to have urged austerity measures on Egypt as a condition of further loans. The Sadat government intended the price rises as part of this IMF-imposed austerity program.

By rescinding the price increases, Sadat finds himself torn between the IMF and any hope of his "open door" succeeding, on one side, and growing popular hostility to any austerity measures on the other. On Jan. 20 Sadat sent out a plea to the U.S. and to the Arab oil countries to give Egypt a \$1.7 billion loan so that it could forego any price rises.

Behind Daoud's arrest

The arrest of quick release of PLO leader Abu Daoud, whom Israelis accuse of having masterminded the kidnapping of Israeli athletes during the 1972 Munich Olympics, has sparked a wave of protest from the American, West German, and Israeli governments. But the circumstances surrounding Daoud's arrest and release remain shrouded in mystery.

While the DST, the French secret service, arrested him, the French foreign ministry seems to have knowingly invited him to enter the country as the head of a PLO delegation to the funeral of murdered Palestinian Mahmoud Saleh (Saleh is thought to have been murdered by Israeli agents as part of a retaliatory campaign to avenge the Munich murders.)

The government released Daoud in two days instead of waiting 18 days, which is the usual practice, for West Germany to prepare extradition requests. The French government's quick release of Daoud supports the view that the DST had acted independently in arresting Daoud.

Why did the DST act independently?

The *Manchester Guardian's* Paul Webster reports speculation that the Gaullist-controlled DST was acting in concert with Israeli intelligence agents who wanted to use the arrest to undercut the informal Israeli-Palestinian talks that had been taking place in Paris under government auspices. The *Economist* suggest that the DST might have been intent on avenging the killing of two of its agents by a Palestinian leader named "Carlos" that the agents had been trying to arrest.

Apartheid boycott enjoined

In France, the Netherlands, West Germany, Australia and Canada, labor unions were heeding the call of the International Conference of Free Trade Unions for a week of protest Jan. 17-24 against South African apartheid. But in Great Britain, an appeal court, acting on a request from the right-wing National Association for Freedom, had enjoined the postal workers from refusing to handle South African mail.

The court action came after labor government Attorney General Sam Silkin had refused to request the injunction. Silkin protested the court's action, arguing that in such cases his discretion was absolute.

Gandhi calls elections

Taking her opponents by surprise, India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi released from jail her principal foe, Morarji Desai, and called for parliamentary elections this March. In June 1975 Gandhi had assumed emergency powers after an Indian court had convicted her of political corruption. She had imprisoned political opponents, imposed a strict press censorship and bestowed on herself dictatorial powers.

Gandhi's new move was designed to keep her opponents off balance while preserving her rule and restoring India's image of democracy. She can expect to take credit for India's recent prosperity, a product in part of favorable weather and in part of Gandhi's tight rein over strikes and worker militancy.

Prosperity, coupled with press censorship and little time for her opponents to mount a campaign, will ensure Gandhi's Congress party a majority in the March elections.

While the four main non-Communist parties will attempt to merge, Socialist party leader George Fernandes, who is still in prison, called for a boycott of the elections. India's pro-Soviet Communist party, which had recently urged Gandhi to rescind the state of emergency praised her actions.

Marching away from King's dream

By Raoul Sinclair

Atlanta. The fragile yet vast Dream that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. had for America is honored every Jan. 15, his birthday, here in hometown Atlanta. Under sponsorship of the King Center for Social Change, there are workshops, church services and the last of the nation's annual civil rights marches.

On this Jan. 15, when King would have been just 48, the annual observation began to march away from the Dream.

It now has started marching to a corporate beat, a parade of the prominents down desperately poor Auburn Avenue to a downtown rally, where offensive speeches were made by people who have jobs about those who don't, the blowy rhetoric ringingly amplified up and down the bronze canyons of downtown Atlanta by dozens of loudspeakers provided by the U.S. Army.

It was the audacious gathering in Dr. King's name since the assassination. By the time the rally's speakers began, no more than 300 people were in the crowd, half of whom would leave before the end.

The focus was once more the need for full employment. Jobs. Sanitize the nation, solve the problem of unemployment, resolved the workshops and conference held in the days before the march. Right on, sez it, because this is my eighth month of unemployment. He said 10 million others who just want a decent job at a decent wage need a King Day to weigh in on our side. So I marched and watched it all under a brittle, headless sun—a cold, cold King Day in Atlanta.

The observation had an official button. There was the sketched portrait of Dr. King, dates, theme, locale and so on. "So on" included the Golden Arches of McDonald's Hamburgers. The McDonald's corporation had its logo inserted into the button's design because they paid for the buttons. Simple promotion: "Keep the Dream Alive. Honor Dr. King and Eat Big Macs."

The involvement of McDonald's also extended to providing food for the Jan. 14 "labor/management breakfast." Considering long-time union support of the King Center, the McDonald's tie-in is odd since McDonald's is ferociously anti-union, against increasing the minimum wage and for removing minimum wage provisions for the under-18 workers who make up the overwhelming share of counter help at McDonald's.

That same breakfast saw an award given Henry Ford II, who the week before quit the Ford Foundation board because funded projects served social purposes rather than the interests of the corporate/capitalist system. The award given Ford by the King Center was for "corporate social responsibility."

►Four days of activities

In all, there were four days of activity surrounding the Jan. 15 celebration. There was a full employment conference; workshops on justice, the arts, housing and education; a mass meeting; musical interludes; tours of the new King Center (with an outdoor fountain shaped, I swear to God, like a 1938-vintage dull silver Buck Rogers rocket) and business meetings of the center, leading up to events of the 15th.

The workshops provided the most honest nutrition, but dealt with the all-too-familiar social crises of unemployment, lousy housing, out of tune schools and a collapsing criminal justice system.

The trouble with these "presentations by experts in issue areas," as they were billed, was that no follow-up strategy was agreed upon, no protests even considered. And the "experts in issue areas" who could have been most eloquent—the poor and unemployed chumps like me who are hungry, perplexed and mad as hell—were missing from all levels of King Day in Atlanta.

Jawboning by experts has been going on for some time now. So has this profound, debilitating Depression. King

Day had a problem with authenticity.

The winner of this year's Martin Luther King Jr. Nonviolence Peace Prize (\$1,000 and a bust of Dr. King) was the president of the Atlanta School Board, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays. The award to Mays raised a few eyebrows. The ailing, 82-year-old educator, for all his decency, has not taken a strong leadership role in man-

King, Atlanta Mayor Jackson and other politicians, union and humanitarian organizational reps.

A generally goonish body of parade marshalls, identified with special vests and yellow tape patches on their arms, begin manhandling people into and out of place. The marshalls know nothing about crowd control, only shouted orders



Photo by Bob Fitch

agement of the city's expensive and low-scoring school system. And Mays, too, is vigorously opposed to union activities in Atlanta schools, be it AFT for the teachers or AFSCME for non-classroom workers.

►AFSCME presence gone

Perhaps because of this, perhaps for other reasons, the usually vocal American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees did not lend much support to the actual King Day march. Gone were the giant white and red banners of all past marches, the proliferation of union hats and "I Am a Man" badges. There was individual, but not much evidence of organizational participation.

Main speaker for the ecumenical church service preceding the march on the 15th was Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-Mass.) who evoked the magic of the Kennedy-King names time and again, rousing the packed-to-capacity Ebenezer Baptist Church to amens and pained washes of nostalgia.

After the arms-linked congregation sang "We Shall Overcome" (as always, the emotional highlight of the entire day, the truest link to the Dream), the family of Dr. King led the way out and to the left of the historic brick church to the new tomb site of Dr. King and behind it the new "Interfaith Peace Chapel."

Next came a "litany of dedication" for the permanent entombment and chapel featuring three of the King children—Marty, Yolanda and Dexter, who described "A peerless father."

►The march begins

Dedication complete, the march is ready to begin. ROTC students are in the first rank, then the press hoard, then Mrs.

and not so gentle pushes. One goon with a cigar and cloth cap is especially arrogant about the whole thing.

Finally, the police escort cycles rev up, orders are shouted and the vanguard begins to move west on Auburn Avenue toward the downtown rally site.

Auburn Avenue, "Sweet Auburn" as poet Langston Hughes has christened it, was the first economic lifeline of black America. Here was the nucleus of black entrepreneurship that flourished from the turn of the century on: black-owned banks, newspapers, insurance companies, night clubs, barber shops, restaurants, photo studios, sportin' houses and civil rights organizations.

When black-owned Citizens Trust Bank moved off Auburn to a fancy new building on Piedmont Avenue, Atlantans say the life drained out of "Sweet Auburn." The Atlanta Urban League soon quit the street and the night life soured with an excess of drugs and hookers.

Historic, faded Auburn Avenue groaned, as it had many times before, under the feet of marchers—only there seemed more parade than protest and petition to it this time. An Army band from Atlanta's Ft. McPherson played your all-time Sousa favorites, while marching behind a group carrying a banner of the "Revolutionary Communist Party." There were hundreds of stuents from the city's high schools and the Atlanta University Center, with tambourines and disco hips.

All along Auburn, leading into the focus of downtown called "Five Points," the people watched the marchers: smiling and waving by the apartments across from Legion Post 574, but grim and a little desperate in front of the bars.

►SCLC left out in cold

The march passed the national offices of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, founded by Dr. King in 1956 and now a ghost organization thanks mainly to what the King Day march represents. Donations that went to SCLC during King's life were shunted to the widow and the King Center after the April 4, 1968, assassination. King's successor, Ralph Abernathy, could neither raise funds nor administer SCLC in a competitive struggle with the King Center and is now seeking employment elsewhere by running for the Atlanta congressional seat vacated by UN-bound Andrew Young.

So serious is the SCLC/King Center split that Atlanta SCLC president Hosea Williams once picketed a fund-raising concert staged by Mrs. King and tried to organize its boycott. "Coretta comes out once a year, grabs all the money and goes back to build the monument," Williams once complained. Neither Williams nor Abernathy was present for the march.

The end of the line comes at a city portage set up in front of the Federal Reserve Bank building where an enthusiastic group is already into energetic, hand-clapping good time songs. The dignitaries take their places on stage and the crowd pushes good naturedly up to get in position and escape the cutting wind. Then four of the goons who were marshalls back at the church strong-arm their way through the crowd. They don't speak. Just shoving people aside, age or sex regardless. The cloth cap/cigar goon is leading.

►No new ground is broken

The speakers begin. M.C. is Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson who insists on prolonging matters by delivering not only anecdotal introductions but expanding endlessly on the novel idea that people who need jobs should get them. None of the speakers at the rally break new ground. None have anything new or encouraging for the unemployed. In fact, all are themselves employed and doing very nicely thank you.

The rally is about over. The Army had set up a field tent in Central City Park to hand out boxes of fried chicken and sandwiches to the marchers, but the crowd was so small and so rapidly dwindling that a city bus was commandeered as a temporary distribution point for the free food. I've eaten little enough lately so I went for my box lunch. At the bus were several people waiting patiently in line while inside the parade marshalls were going through box after box, eating like mad and handing armloads of boxes out side windows to friends who didn't want to bother with the line.

After I got my lunch, I walked slowly away and caught my last look inside the bus at the cloth cap and cigar goon, now stuffing his face. Several elderly women in the line behind me still hadn't gotten anything to eat.

The rally I'd left behind was now winding up with a rendition of the grand anthem of the movement, "We Shall Overcome." To have grown up in the South during the '50s and '60s is to remember how that song promised that at the end of a trail of fear and blood was a clear and common goal: black and white together, unafraid.

As I walked through the nearly deserted downtown, now lit brilliantly or deeply shadowed by the appearance of the day's first sunlight, "We Shall Overcome" echoed and overlapped from all directions. The Army's loudspeakers were creating a cross-hatched sound pattern and the song had become a meaningless jumble; a half dozen choirs starting two notes apart and pressing on to the end. Ahead was a goon-friend with four boxes of fried chicken. "Hey, where you get them?" a shabbily dressed middle aged man asked the goon-friend. He didn't reply and kept walking through the police barricades to where the traffic picked up.

The mangled echoes from the loudspeakers ceased.

IN THE NATION

In These Times photo by Ken Firestone



Ford-Carter budget burdens poor

By Tim Frasca
Washington Bureau

Gerald Ford's proposed 1978 budget, presented to Congress last week, far from being the last gasp of a lame duck administration, represents the preferred post-recession strategy of significant sectors of the capitalist system. Ford's program would help profits stay high and enrich the middle classes while placing the burden of continued "growth" on the working poor and the destitute.

The Carter administration will probably moderate the harshest features of Ford's spending program and ease the social cost of mass unemployment with more convincing promises of future gain than a Republican President could provide, but the next election is four years away and Carter's responsiveness to right-wing pressure—as evidenced in the instant abandonment of the Sorensen nomination to head the CIA—should not be underestimated.

Ford's outline has three broad directions: to increase defense spending while reducing overall spending; to reduce taxes to the middle and upper-middle classes; and to pay for the first two by cutting social welfare spending and government services, by increasing the regressive Social Security tax, and by directing most of the universally recommended federal stimulant money away from direct job creation.

Personal income tax reductions costing \$12.5 billion in lost revenues were proposed by Ford for calendar year 1977, not as a one-time slash but as part of a permanent tax revision, reaching a cost of \$30 billion by 1982. Carter's program by contrast is more recession-related and temporary, although some features are intended to be fixed.

►Expanding consumer spending.

To justify his costly tax proposals, Ford

The Carter administration will probably moderate the harshest features of the Ford budget, but the basic framework will have to be retained.

pointed to the effect of inflation on personal incomes for one justification. If higher prices eat up wage gains, no real increase in purchasing power occurs. Meanwhile, the earners fall into a higher tax bracket and end up poorer. Thus, the reductions merely offset inflation or so we are led to believe.

However, Ford's proposals go beyond merely equalizing this inequity. Median family income is projected to rise 65 percent to \$28,400 in the next six years and inflation at present rates will absorb only half of that increase. Ford wants to add to this prosperous median family, already \$5,000 richer in real spending power, an extra \$800 in tax savings.

Clearly, inflation catch-up is not the real answer. More to the point, as former Ford economic adviser Paul McCracken wrote this week in the *Wall Street Journal*, is the notion that "the requirement for achieving a balanced [non-inflationary] and sustained rate of expansion is a higher level of consumer spending." Nothing but more disposable income in middle class hands, the thinking goes, will generate the higher demand for goods that will rev up the economy.

In other words, these entirely comfortable families would be given more money, under the Ford plan, because they would spend it on the most economy-expanding consumer goods. A growth strategy of this type underlies all the Ford administration's economic policy.

►Devastating to poor and working people.

The results for marginal-income people would be predictably devastating. While easing tax bites on the middle class, Ford

proposes to hike the regressive Social Security payroll tax a full point, to 6.85 percent. The working poor would lose essential income while \$20,000-a-year earners would accumulate extra money to spend on consumer luxuries. Here is the system's "only" escape from recession into "steady growth": further pauperize the poor to enrich the already comfortable.

But Ford's program doesn't stop there. He recommends ending the 26-week federal unemployment extensions, reducing food stamp eligibility, saving \$2 billion on Medicare and Medicaid by making patients pay more, charging higher rents for public housing tenants and other similar cutbacks.

Still, to blame only the middle-income beneficiaries of Ford's fiscal policy is not altogether fair. Defense expenditures were upped 11 percent to \$112.3 billion, providing the usual double bonanza: immediate windfalls for defense contractors and what amounts to a government subsidy for research and development in highly technological industries. Though the usual national security language was evoked in justification, Ford also called for the U.S. to "maintain our world leadership in science and technology" in the next breath, discussing government support. With the middle sectors content, the industrial giants could enjoy fully the defense treasure chest.

►Carter will make cosmetic changes.

Obviously, the Carter administration could not expect the coalition that elected him to swallow all this and the more obvious burdens will be tempered with

amendments. The Social Security payroll tax increase will likely be scrapped, and most of the social welfare attacks shelved. The permanent income tax cut will be much reduced and targeted to aid lower brackets, though similarly designed to increase consumerism.

Additionally, there will be the job stimulation program announced last week by Carter and his economic team.

On the other hand, all signs indicate the defense budget will move through Congress intact, despite campaign rhetoric, and optimism on unemployment among Carter's people has quickly evaporated.

For now, the Democratic administration can ride the upturn, please business, and put off the poor, the near-poor and the jobless with partial remedies and future promises. But when the present recovery runs out of steam, as it must, the balancing act will be over. Carter is leaving few doubts about whose needs will be attended to first.

►Hard-liners get Sorensen.

"The hard-liners, the same people who have been yelling about the Soviet threat and the like, somehow became convinced that Sorensen was a threat to their interests," said John Marks of the Center for National Security Studies on the Ted Sorensen nomination to head the Central Intelligence Agency. In three days, opposition to Sorensen had so mushroomed that he withdrew his name from consideration. Carter expressed support but did no lobbying with senators on the committee.

"To some extent," continued Marks, "I think this is a replay of what happened with the Defense department nomination where these people who are organized in the Committee on the Present Danger, which essentially represents the military-industrial complex, are trying to shape the Carter administration.... He seems willing to compromise with them."

IN SHORT

A creature of capitalism

Henry Ford 2d, heir to the fortune, resigned from the directors of the Ford Foundation Jan. 11. Although both foundation and Ford spokespeople said that there was no particular precipitating event for the resignation, a letter from Ford to Alexander Heard, the foundation's chairman, leaked to the press revealed some underlying discontent on Ford's part and his sense that the foundation and its staff was not appreciative or conscious enough of the capitalist system. He wrote:

"The foundation exists and thrives on the fruits of our economic system. The dividends of competitive enterprise make it all possible.... In effect, the foundation is a creature of capitalism.... It is hard to discern recognition of this fact in anything the foundation does. It is even more difficult to find an understanding of this in many of the institutions, particularly the universities, that are the beneficiaries of the foundation's grant programs.

Attica victim denied parole

New York Gov. Carey's effort to "firmly and finally close the book" on the 1971 Attica prison uprising hit a deadend Dec. 30 when the State Board of Parole denied parole to one inmate who had been convicted for participating in the uprising. Dacajewciah (John Hill) had been sentenced to 20 years to life for the fatal beating of a guard, but Carey had commuted his sentence, making him eligible for immediate parole. The parole board, however, refused to go along and says that it will not reconsider the case for two years.

The denial brought angry reactions from lawyers and supporters of the Attica defendants and a pledge to continue the fight to free Dacajewciah.

"Tokyo Rose" pardoned

In one of his last official acts, President Ford officially pardoned Iva Toguri D'Aquino, better known as "Tokyo Rose" from her broadcasts over Japanese radio during WWII. (See *In These Times*, Dec. 20-26, 1976).

D'Aquino was convicted of treason in 1949 and served six and a half years in prison. The pardon comes in the wake of a petition from D'Aquino and numerous supporters in the Japanese American community who pointed out that her trial had not met constitutional safeguards and that it was conducted in a witchhunt atmosphere.

Federal programs cut poverty

A study by the Congressional Budget Office reveals that federal social welfare programs have reduced the rate of poverty in the U.S. by 60 percent over the last decade. Alice Rivlin, director of the budget office, stressed, however, that the study should not be interpreted "to say that poverty is not still widespread and important."

The study indicates that the Great Society programs of the Johnson administration were more effective in reducing the level of poverty than they have been credited for and contradicts an earlier Census study that showed that between 1965 and 1975 social welfare programs only cut the poverty rate by 30 percent. Rivlin, however, pointed out that the Census study did not consider "in-kind" programs like food stamps and Medicaid.

Nonetheless, the Budget office still shows 5.4 million American families living in poverty. Without federal welfare programs, they say, the figure would be 20.2 million families or more than one-quarter of all Americans.

Imported color TVs: To quota or not to quota

By Dan Marschall
Staff Writer

President Carter's expertise in the realm of international trade, as well as his talents for political fence-straddling, may be severely tested early this year when the International Trade Commission may recommend import quotas on color televisions. The issue is now being examined in public hearings.

In September, a coalition of 11 labor unions and five domestic color TV producers invoked the Trade Act of 1974 and petitioned the International Trade Commission for quotas on foreign-made color receivers. The Committee to Preserve American Color Television (COMPACT) charges that these imports, 90 percent of which come from Japan, have taken jobs from American workers and threaten to destroy "the last remaining viable American industry in the electronics field."

"Yours is an awesome responsibility," Jacob Clayman, Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department, told the presidentially-appointed commissioners during the Chicago hearings. "You are literally presiding over the life and death of an industry and the economic life or death of thousands of American workers. Unless you act, you will be the undertakers for the color television industry."

By law, the commission has until March 22 to report to the President, who then has 60 days to act. Congress can override his action within 90 days.

►Delicate diplomatic dilemma.

If the issue reaches Carter's desk, he will face a delicate diplomatic dilemma. If he accepts a commission recommendation for quotas, he will likely anger the Japanese government, thus jeopardizing international trade negotiations and alienate some multinational corporations that oppose such "protectionist" measures. On the other hand, if he rejects import restriction, he will further widen the gulf between his administration and the AFL-CIO and will be blamed for the probable collapse of this domestic industry.

The views of Carter's advisers, as well as his membership in the pro-free trade Trilateral Commission, suggest that he will likely pursue anti-protectionist policies.

Returning from a meeting of the Trilateral Commission in Japan, Richard Cooper, Carter's nominee for undersecretary of state for economic affairs, voiced his opposition to import quotas. "I would certainly hope that we will not see protectionist reactions in the United States in response to imports from Japan or anywhere else," Cooper remarked.

Charles Schultze, who will head Carter's Council of Economic Advisers, also opposes quotas. The right way to deal with unemployment caused by foreign imports "is not protectionism but an expanding economy," he recently told the *New York Times*.

Whatever Carter decides, the International Trade Commission hearings in Chicago (Jan. 11-12) and Washington, D.C. (Jan. 18) have focused public attention on the dimensions of the problem. In 1976, over three million color receivers were imported into the U.S., more than twice the number in 1975. As a result, foreign imports now account for 42 percent of the domestic market, up from 18 percent in 1975.

►Japanese price competition.

American manufacturers accuse Japanese companies—in cooperation with a government that provides subsidies on exported consumer electronic goods—of "dumping" their products onto the American market by charging lower prices, many companies have gone bankrupt while others have been compelled to shift more of their production overseas. There were 20 U.S.-owned makers of color sets a decade ago, manufacturers point out, while only eight remain today.

"I would not care to characterize this as a battle between Japanese workers and American workers. I have an internationalist view of workers. But the point here is to protect certain jobs in the United States."

The labor representatives of COMPACT emphasize that these imports generate widespread unemployment in the electronics industry. "Every imported TV set that enters this country takes potential American job opportunities. In our industrial society, a job is a man's anchor to life. When he loses it, he loses one of his most precious commodities," explained Jacob Clayman. One economist estimates that 30,000 jobs have been lost in television and its supplying industries since 1966.

►Quotas proposed.

The solution to the "rape of our TV industry," COMPACT says, is import quotas that would provide a five-year breathing space. But such measures are highly controversial among electrical companies and some union leaders who question their economic effectiveness and political implications.

The only major U.S. corporation to call for quotas is Zenith, whose color receivers account for 25 percent of the American market. According to Zenith president John Nevin, import quotas tend to turn American industry into a "dependent child" of government rules, but his company reluctantly endorsed temporary quotas because "economic conditions in the American television industry are now so critical" that immediate relief is essential.

To counter the import threat, Zenith has initiated a "Buy American" advertising campaign. All Zenith sets are manufactured in the U.S., Nevin said, and only 10 percent of the value of any receiver comes from foreign produced components.

Multinational corporations like RCA and General Electric do not favor protectionist laws, however, since they obtain substantial earnings from their licensing agreements with Japanese companies. "American companies have been highly inventive in the TV industry. The majority of patents for color TV are American inventions. Our understanding is that companies like RCA get literally millions of dollars per year from foreign producers using their technology," Lauren Oldak, an attorney for COMPACT, told *In These Times*.

►Quotas may not be productive.

For different reasons, some labor leaders also disagree with quotas. "I can understand the problem these unions and companies are having, but I'm afraid that import quotas are just going to lead to reprisals on the other side. I don't think they're going to be that productive," explains Frank Rosen, Director of District 11 of the United Electrical Workers (UE).

Some observers speculate that Japanese companies raised the volume of imports in the last year precisely because they expect some kind of quotas by the U.S. "Japanese manufacturers are anticipating the imposition of quotas and are trying to establish a higher base from which to negotiate those quotas," Allen Dawson of Corning Glass Works told the commission.

"Protectionism is just the reverse of international labor solidarity," continues Frank Rosen. "If they put quotas on, some Japanese workers lose jobs. If they don't use quotas, some Americans are put out of work. They just end up shifting the burden onto another section of the working class. They may be in another country, but they're still workers."

A local officer of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE), one of the COMPACT unions, agrees with this international labor perspective and points out that "American multinationals tend to benefit the most from free trade. In general, the U.S. ruling class doesn't want a lot of tariff barriers."

►Limited options.

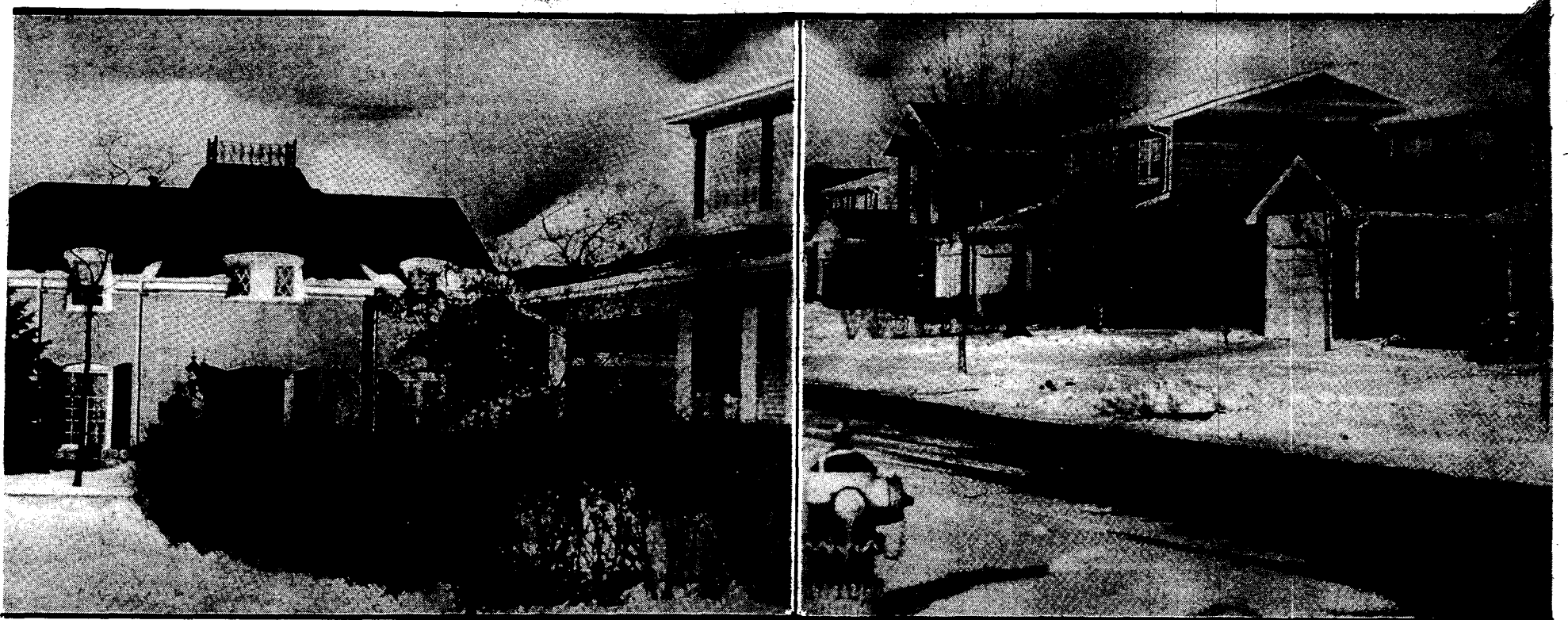
"The unions also get something from these efforts," says Todd Smith, president of IUE Local 777, "because they can tell workers that they have a strategy to deal with this problem." Protectionism is a kind of flag waving, Smith believes, where the union identifies with the interests of the corporations. In the end, tariffs and quotas just mean higher prices for American consumers.

The labor opponents of protectionism are unable, however, to propose an immediate solution to the import problem. They offer instead a long-term approach to alleviating unemployment that includes a shorter work week and an aggressive campaign to protect jobs through organizing the unorganized worldwide.

"What is really needed is to force all of these corporations to provide higher living standards and shorter working hours for their people so the unemployed can be put back to work," says Rosen. "That's where the thrust should be, rather than in everyone scrambling to see how they can palm off the crisis on somebody who's a little weaker."

When Carter evaluates the import quota issue, he'll confront the complex issue of how individual nations can influence the trading policies of multinational corporations. Some observers speculate that he will try to sidestep the color TV controversy by convincing the Japanese to voluntarily limit their export of such products. Vice President Mondale may sound out the Japanese government on this approach during his upcoming journey to that country.

But the intricacies of international trade do not lend themselves to simple solutions. "I would not care to characterize this as a battle between Japanese workers and American workers," Richard Prosten of the IUD told *In These Times*. "I have an internationalist view of workers. But the point here is to protect certain jobs in the United States."



Only about 800 of the 71,000 residents of Chicago's Arlington Heights are black.

Photo by Jane Meinick

Little progress in integrating suburbs

Arlington Heights decision is part of developing line of Supreme Court, making it difficult to prove discrimination.

By David Moberg
Staff Writer

Michael and Sandra Hart, a young, mobile "corporate gypsy" couple with two kids, were fairly typical newcomers to Arlington Heights, a suburb northwest of Chicago where a typical family earns around \$25,000 a year. They wanted a house in the \$60,000 range that was both close to Michael's suburban office in a large electrical firm and easy to sell when they picked up their bags again in a few years.

About the only difference between them and their neighbors was that the Harts are black and Arlington Heights, even now, four years later, has only about 800 blacks out of 71,000 residents.

"There are so few blacks that I used to be delighted when I saw a black face in a store," Sandra Hart, a school "learning center" director, said. "I almost wanted to go up and introduce myself." Their reception in Arlington Heights was no shock to the Harts, who had lived in several predominately white suburbs before.

Although two families tried to stir up resistance to the Harts moving in, other families went out of their way to be friendly. The Harts joined a local church and the neighborhood club. They were able to laugh off much of the ignorance about blacks of some of their white neighbors. But they were angry last week at the city of Arlington Heights and the U.S. Supreme Court.

►Court rules against housing project.

The Court ruled on Jan. 11 that plaintiffs against the city had not adequately proved that Arlington Heights officials discriminated against blacks by refusing to relax a zoning barrier to the construction by a non-profit firm of a 190-townhouse project that would have had some low and moderate income residents.

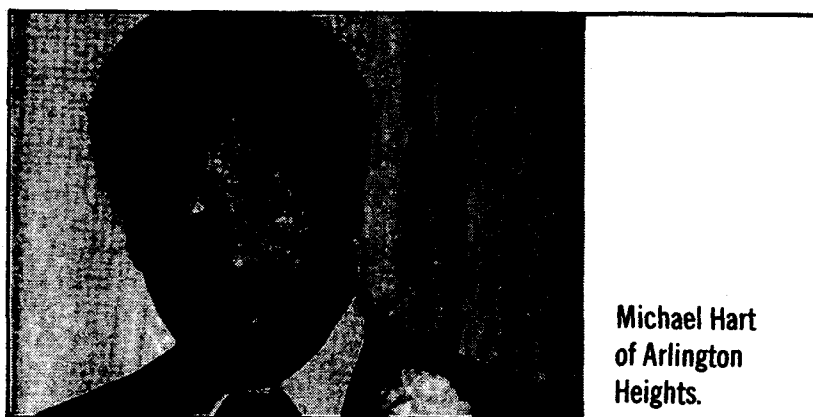
Simply showing discriminatory effects was not enough, the court said in a 5 to 3 decision. The plaintiffs had to show that there was no discriminatory intent in such a zoning decision by a suburb for the action to be declared unconstitutional.

"It was a setback, but it was not unexpected and not as bad as it could have been," Martin Sloan, general counsel for the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, says. The court sent the case back to Appeals Court to re-hear the other part of the complaint, that the suburb's actions violated the 1968 Fair Housing Act. Observers think there is a better chance for winning there, since it may be enough to show discriminatory effect to establish a violation of that act.

There was also a minor victory for

groups fighting suburban segregation. The court recognized that individuals and organizations, such as the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities, which filed the suit and had planned the project through a subsidiary, have a right to bring charges of discrimination about zoning laws and other city policies. A ruling last year had left that in doubt.

Kale Williams, director of the Leadership Council, sees the decision as part of a "developing line" in the Nixon-tainted Supreme Court. "The Court has insistently narrowed the grounds on which



Michael Hart
of Arlington
Heights.

citizens can sue to vindicate their rights under civil rights laws," he said. "And they have heightened the difficulty of proving discrimination."

►Zoning for large homes.

Zoning laws are among the most important parts of a complex web of prejudices and practices that keep blacks out of the white suburbs. Many suburbs are zoned only for expensive homes or large lots and make exceptions carefully to minimize the chance of either blacks or any low-income people living on their social island.

Groups like the Leadership Council attack those barriers on several fronts. Taking advantage of a federal administrative order that requires regional planning bodies to review federal grants to a local public body, the council last year blocked a \$750,000 grant for widening streets in Oakbrook, Ill. The financially lush suburb had 2- or 3-acre requirements for lots and no low-income housing. "Good planning standards require not getting money for roads if nothing is done on housing," Williams said, and the planning board narrowly agreed.

►Federal funds rejected.

As suburbs become more dependent on federal funds, affirmative action requirements can be used by community groups as levers to pry open the implicit "white only" gates of the suburbs. However, Arlington Heights was one of five Chi-

cago suburbs to refuse a total of \$1.3 million in Housing and Community Development grants in 1975. All of them feared that they might have to accept blacks.

Another legal avenue was opened up in a 1975 case involving the town of Mt. Laurel, N.J. The state supreme court agreed with NAACP lawyers that the state constitution's charter for zoning required promoting the general welfare. That necessitated taking into account the entire region, the court declared, not just the locality doing the zoning. Until now, Williams said, "zoning has been almost sacrosanct from legal challenge." Other

neighborhood changes as in the city. Blacks reach the central city boundary and the next suburb out becomes increasingly black.

►A change coming?

Some people still hope a change is coming. "I think we'll see in the 1980 census a significant beginning of integration in a number of suburbs," Williams said, "significant in that there will be a sizeable number—now 25 in Chicago, 40 or 50 by 1980—where there is a black community of 50 to 100 families. Blacks will no longer be 'pioneers.' The psychological effect on black homeseekers will be significant. The numbers won't change significantly but the distribution will."

Most of the change is taking place in the more rapidly growing newer suburbs and in areas where there are rental apartments. More low-income housing would increase blacks in the suburbs, but money is not the only barrier. A 1975 study compiled by urban geographer Brian Berry, for example, concluded that "in a color-blind housing market about two-thirds of the Chicago area blacks could afford to move from their present communities to white communities in Chicago and the suburbs."

►Blacks follow industry.

As industrial jobs expand in the suburbs, justice and good planning will demand that more blacks and more low-income whites find housing close to their work. Although some blacks argue that suburban integration would break up their voting bloc and potential control of the central cities, most polls still show only 15 to 20 percent of blacks prefer all-black neighborhoods. "Integration" for blacks, however, usually means a neighborhood has 40 to 60 percent blacks; for whites it means 10 to 15 percent black.

Blacks in the suburbs, although dispersed, usually try to maintain their identity. The Harts were more worried for their kids than for themselves when they moved to Arlington Heights. "You have an awful lot of people who have little sensitivity," Michael Hart said. "They make comments about blacks on TV or downtown and their kids emulate them. Most black families in the suburbs think of getting out by the time their daughters are teenagers and start dating." Sandra Hart has helped form a North Shore suburban chapter of Jack and Jill, a middle-class black youth group, that keeps her kids in contact with other blacks.

The Supreme Court didn't speed up the process of suburban desegregation with its decision on Arlington Heights. But, as Michael Hart said, "It's got to happen. Blacks will be moving more. It's just a matter of time."



Coffee joins the fast crowd.

In search of the coffee bean

By Judy MacLean
Staff Writer

Chicago. One day last week, I decided to go out and find out why the price of coffee is so high. I took my friends Michael and Susan with me.

"The thing you have to tell people," said Susan as we set out, "is that coffee is no good for them. Studies have shown that if you drink more than five cups a day you're bound to get coronary disease."

"That's not what the story is about," I said, "it's about prices. Why they're so high. Who's at fault?"

We got to the grocer. Like all Chicago grocers, he's agreed to a coffee price freeze for 45 days. But he can't do that forever, he said. A two pound can of Maxwell House priced at \$4.99 "costs us \$5.72 to replace today."

The consumer hasn't really felt the pinch on coffee, he explained, because traditionally supermarkets sell coffee at a loss to get people into the store.

"Sell it at a loss?" said Michael. "Why, that's right nice of you."

"Yeah, well, I get it all back. I just tack a few pennies on the potatoes and the green beans, the Crest and the Pringles," said the grocer.

"Let's get out of here," said Susan. "I don't think this guy has our best interests at heart."

So we went to talk to Chicago's Consumer Affairs Commissioner, Mrs. Jane Byrne. Our acting mayor, Michael Bilandic, called her "the best consumer sales commissioner in the country" after she got all the supermarkets to freeze the coffee price.

She said she'd done very little and we should talk to Elinor Guggenheimer in New York who started the coffee boycott.

►Boycott, it's the only way.

Although she's done her bit, cutting down from 14 cups a day to two, and although some individuals, communities, restaurants and supermarkets are cooperating, Ms. Guggenheimer says the boycott isn't going as well as it could. Still, she believes it's the only way. "If enough people don't drink coffee, at some point prices will have to go down," she said.

"Maybe part of the problem is McDonald's," said Susan. "They're still giving away a free cup of coffee with every egg McMuffin."

So we went over to McDonald's and sure enough everyone was sloshing down free coffee with their food. "Hey," I said to Jim Joyes, the assistant manager, "how come you're giving away coffee when there's a boycott on?"

Every year some Americans stop drinking coffee.

The companies are afraid if the price gets too high, more will stop and there will be no one left to sell to when supplies are plentiful again.

"McDonald's isn't the kind of place to boycott things," he answered, flipping a poached egg onto a piece of Canadian bacon. "We get our coffee from one individual and that individual isn't going to run out," he continued, flipping a poached egg onto a piece of Canadian bacon. "We're going to keep giving coffee away," he added, flipping a poached egg onto a piece of Canadian bacon.

"This is pretty confusing," said Susan, as Michael sipped a free cup of coffee, "but I do know coffee isn't good for you. In studies with rats, it caused convulsions and hair loss."

►Second only to oil in sales volume.

"Let's ask an economist," said Michael.

"Coffee is second only to oil in world volume," said the economist. "The world has been drinking more coffee than was produced for several years now and when a frost damaged two-thirds of Brazil's coffee trees in 1975 and it rained too much in Colombia and not enough in Ethiopia, that made the supply of coffee smaller in relation to the demand, and up went the price. During the last 15 years, when coffee became less profitable compared to crops like soybeans and corn, coffee surpluses piled up. Many farmers in countries like Brazil switched over. Now, with the stockpiles gone, it's not that easy to switch back."

"But that's good," said Susan. "Soybeans and corn are much better for you than coffee. But I have a question. Could the weather really cause the price to rise this much? From \$1.45 to \$2.91 (wholesale) in one year?"

"Coffee trees bear fruit after three years," said the economist. "It will take that long to replace the damaged plants and get Brazil producing at top capacity."

"So, it was the weather?" said Michael.

"Well, sort of," said the economist.

"But Brazil sold less coffee this year than last and charged twice as much money for it."

►A cartel perhaps.

"Aha!" said Michael, "A cartel, just like with oil. Listen to what William Safire said in the *New York Times*: 'The doubling of coffee prices has little to do with market forces. Brazil's military junta has simply doubled its export tax and squeezed a billion dollars a year out of the American market. If the talk of a consumer's boycott fails to swell into a national movement, then America's foreign policy is headed for trouble. Coffee is a symbol of American dependence on foreign suppliers, and the coffee rip-off is a test of American will.'"

"Gee, I wonder if McDonald's knows that," said Susan. "America's foreign policy. What does Congress have to say about this?"

Rep. Frederick W. Richmond (D-N.Y.) is seeking a "top-to-bottom" Congressional investigation of the situation, asking the General Accounting Office to coordinate the various federal agencies to determine tax rates of all coffee-producing countries, the exact size of world coffee supplies, and other relevant data.

He says certain Latin American countries have taken advantage of natural disasters to impose unfair export taxes of up to 80 cents a pound. "I know of instances where coffee growing countries are conspiring together on prices," he said.

►Brazil says only wants to conserve.

"Mr. Cesar Gomez," I asked the U.S. representative of the Brazilian Coffee Institute, "what's all this about your country gouging on taxes?"

"Your Congressman misunderstood," he answered. "We tax the portion of the price going to exporters. That was a move to decrease their profits, and thereby slow down exports in 1976, so traditional buyers will be assured of coffee supplies in 1977." Brazil's coffee reserves are dwindling, he explained, and this is a move to conserve them.

"Let's talk to an American coffee importer," said Susan.

"Americans drink less coffee every year," said one importer. "The U.S. is still the biggest coffee customer and has a great deal of clout, but it is no longer the prime factor in the coffee market. Consumption in this country would have to be cut by 50 percent to have much influence in slowing down prices."

"I know the coffee industry cancelled its annual convention in Boca Raton, Fla., for fear such doings might not look good at the moment, when everyone's mad about high prices," I said, "but, are you making more or less money now that the prices are up?"

The importer looked at his watch and suddenly remembered an important meeting he had to attend.

"But James Quinn, publisher of *Tea and Coffee Trade Journal*, said that importers are making a bundle," said Susan.

►Roasters don't know.

"Let's ask the biggest roasters," said Michael.

"We don't fully understand why coffee has gone so high," said a Folger's spokesperson.

General Foods, who market Maxwell House, said, "We are opposed to a boycott of any kind for any reason."

"What do you expect," said Susan, "from these people who've spent the last 20 years trying to get everyone to drink something that's been proven to be associated with heart attacks? You think they have our best interest at heart?"

"I know," said Michael, "let's go ask Ernie about all this."

Ernie, you see, deals in a commodity about which the less said the better that also comes from Latin America, and also is priced rather high these days.

"I have just the solution to the whole problem," said Ernie, "grow your own—coffee, I mean—it's perfectly legal. There's a type of plant you can grow in your own home. It grows up to six feet tall, thrives in a pot, and will bear beans in three years. At today's consumption levels, about 60 plants should supply a family of four. I have some seedlings right here. Want some?"

Susan, Michael and my heads were reeling. "There's only one person left to consult," I said, "Mrs. Perkins. You remember her, the woman on TV who puts all the marriages back together by teaching all the young wives how to make good coffee to please their husbands?"

►Mrs. Perkins to the rescue.

"Hi, Mrs. Perkins," I said. "How's the business of putting marriages back together by teaching young wives how to make good coffee to please their husbands?"

"Not so good," she answered. "Seems like all the wives are telling their husbands to make their own coffee. It was a stupid job anyway, but what could I do? A 52-year-old housewife, I got a divorce, all I knew how to do was make coffee."

"Well, do you know anything about all these price rises?" I asked. "Is it a coffee crisis?"

"Now, as a matter of fact, I do know something about all that. You catch on if you hang around coffee conglomerates long enough, and watch them sticking their instant powder into lumps and calling it freeze-dried."

"It's no crisis. It's just some bad weather plus capitalism working normally. A few years ago, companies found out that instead of selling more and more of something for lower prices, they could make higher profits by selling less of it for higher prices. And that's what's happening right now. The Third World exporters are selling less coffee and charging more, though precious little of it goes to the peasants who farm the land. And the importers here are getting more, too, for selling less coffee, because they set their markups based on percentages."

"But what about the roasters? Folger's and Maxwell House say they aren't making any profit now," said Michael.

"It's true they feel the squeeze now," she answered, "but they're just trying to protect future markets. Every year some Americans stop drinking coffee. The companies are afraid if the price gets too high, a lot of Americans will stop and there will be no one to sell it to when coffee is plentiful again."

"But what about the grocer?" said Michael. "In Chicago they can't even buy coffee for what they're selling it for."

"Now, don't you worry none about the supermarket chains, sonny," she answered. "They'll just add a few more pennies onto the potatoes, the green beans, the Crest and the Pringles. Then, when everyone gets used to coffee at \$3.50 a pound, they'll get their markup too."

Susan, Michael and I, tired, sat down for a cup of tea. "I just can't believe it," said Susan. "All those interviews and not one of them mentioned how bad coffee is for you."

IN THE WORLD

Soviet anti-Semitism: Is it becoming worse?

By Max Gordon

Over the past five years, those concerned with Soviet Jewry have tended to emphasize the right of emigration rather than the condition of the majority of Jews who have chosen to remain part of Soviet society. In part, at least, this emphasis on emigration appears to have its source in Zionist pressures for *Aliyah*, the program of gathering most of world Jewry in Israel. Since the U.S. and the USSR are today the only countries outside of Israel with large Jewish populations and since American Jews are demonstrably reluctant to emigrate in significant numbers, Soviet Jewry appears to offer the only remaining feasible source of a substantial migration to Israel.

But only a relatively small fraction of Soviet Jews have sought to leave; most are thoroughly integrated in the society and occupy positions in the sciences, professions and arts in greater numbers than in the population as a whole. Thus two recent, concurrent, developments calling attention to the problems of anti-Semitism confronting the Jews in Soviet society are of considerable interest.

►Anti-Semitic writings tolerated.

Early in 1976, the editors of three left-wing Jewish publications—one of them the *Morning Freiheit*, a Communist party organ from its founding in 1921 until its break with party orthodoxy in the late 1950s—addressed a memorandum to the Soviet ambassadors in Washington and at the U.N. detailing the “continuing violation of Marxist principles with respect to the Jews in the Soviet Union.” The memorandum, whose signers included the editors of *Jewish Currents* and *Yiddishe Kultur*, both also formerly in the Communist party orbit, described the denial of Jewish national and cultural rights accorded other Soviet nationalities and the “stream of anti-Semitic writings” in the past several years that Soviet authorities have tolerated despite Soviet law making anti-Semitic propaganda a crime.

A covering letter asked for a meeting with each of the ambassadors to discuss the issues raised in the memorandum. No response was received and the editors decided to publish the document. It appears in the December 1976 issue of *Jewish Currents*, an English-language monthly.

The memorandum cites specific anti-Semitic writings in which the myth of an international Jewish conspiracy to gain world domination is cited as part of an attack on Zionism. It charges that these writings, some of which have appeared in party publications and have been reprinted as pamphlets, are a revival of the central theme in the notorious forgery, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which was the chief propaganda instrument of czarist pogrom promoters and was later exploited by the Nazis. Some of the most scurrilous of these writings have appeared in *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, Young Communist League organ, and *Ogonyok*, a major mass circulation periodical published by the party's official newspaper *Pravda*.

In 1963 the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences published an anti-Semitic book by a particularly active anti-Semitic writer, Trofim Kichko, that included typical anti-

Semitic drawings and caused an uproar among Communists around the world, including the parties of England, France, Italy, Australia, Israel and Canada. American party leader Gus Hall declared, after substantial protest on the American left, that there was “no doubt in my mind as to the anti-Semitic character of what I have seen.”

A year after the book's publication *Pravda* published a statement by the Communist Ideological Commission declaring that the book's “erroneous statements ...

Until 1937 there flourished a Yiddish press and publishing apparatus, Yiddish state theaters, language schools, scientific institutions and other Communist Jewish organizations. When Stalin began his massive purges, these institutions were systematically cut down, a process interrupted by the war—in which 2,000,000 Soviet Jews gave their lives in the struggle against Nazism—but resumed in 1948-49.

Though 395,000 Soviet citizens claimed Yiddish as their mother tongue in the 1970 census, no facilities are now available for

lel” conference that same day in protest against the suppression.

►Could not live as Jews.

The reality of these problems had been brought home to me in the spring of 1974 when on a visit to Israel I interviewed three veteran Communist Jews who had left the USSR or Poland since 1970, as well as two young Ukrainians who had recently migrated and were serving in the Israeli armed forces.

The Ukrainians held no strong political views. In separate conversations, they said that materially they had led satisfactory lives in the USSR, but that they could not live “as Jews.” One maintained that after the 1967 war, when Moscow embarked on an intensive anti-Zionist, anti-Judaism campaign, he felt so uncomfortable after an official anti-Judaism blast that he stayed home from work.

The veteran Communists included an 84-year-old Lithuanian who had joined the Bolsheviks as a 14-year-old in 1904, was leader of the Lithuanian underground party when the country was absorbed in 1940, worked in Soviet arms factories during the war and returned to Vilna as an honored Old Bolshevik after the war. Several anti-Semitic incidents and the relaxed attitude of state authorities toward them, particularly after 1967, led him to leave the USSR.

A second veteran Communist, also Lithuanian, became a Young Communist League member at 16, just prior to 1940, fought in the Red Army, was an active Communist in Vilna after the war. He lived comfortably as a commercial artist but felt deprived by the lack of Jewish cultural life for himself and his family.

The third veteran Communist, a Polish Jew who at 16 left Poland with the Red Army in 1918, became a prominent Jewish Communist journalist, returned to Poland as a leader of the underground party in the 1930s, was jailed there (which saved his life since Stalin liquidated the Polish party leadership in the late 1930s), escaped to organize and lead seven Jewish partisan detachments against the Nazis in Byelo-Russia.

After the war, when he applied to the Byelo Russian party authorities for aid in getting back the homes and jobs of the Jewish partisans, the hostile reception persuaded him that Russian anti-Jewish attitudes were still profound. He returned to Warsaw, became editor of the Yiddish paper *Folkstimme* and head of the Jewish cultural movement.

In 1968, with a Polish purge of Jews from leading government and party posts, he was ousted. He believes the Soviet campaign against anti-Semitism in the 1920s and '30s, stimulated by Lenin, had driven racism underground but had not eliminated it. With the liquidation of the bulk of remaining Old Bolsheviks by Stalin in the late 1930s, the struggle for an internationalism hostile to all forms of racism disappeared. Where the anti-Semitism of the Nazis sought to identify and mark for extinction all individuals even partly Jewish, Soviet pressures aim at forced assimilation, at denial of Jewish identity in order to eliminate the national culture.

Max Gordon is a free-lance journalist, a former political editor of the *Daily Worker*.

Marxists everywhere, the authors of the memorandum argue, know that dominant American finance and industrial capital is not under Jewish, or Zionist, control and that the charge emanates from fascist and ultra-right sources. Why, they ask, is it given free reign in the USSR?

and the illustrations ... can be interpreted in the spirit of anti-Semitism.” But, the memorandum observes, Kochko was never charged with violating the law against anti-Semitism nor was he discouraged from continuing his anti-Semitic writings, which have been prolific.

►Jewish culture suppressed.

Soviet anti-Semitism has brought the *Protocols*’ theme up-to-date by suggesting that world imperialism is simply an instrument of Zionism. Thus, the Soviet press agency *Novosti* published a pamphlet in 1972 that argued that the “hope” of Zionism, “one of the largest amalgamations of finance capital,” was to “take the reins of world empire into their own hands.” The authors of the memorandum note that they are “implacably” anti-Zionist, but they believe that Zionism, like all nationalist movements, has its class divisions, with a political left, right and center possessing corresponding policies; the charge that it aims at world domination is a malevolent one, the intent of which is to promote anti-Semitism.

Marxists everywhere, they argue, know that dominant American finance and industrial capital is not under Jewish, or Zionist, control and that the charge emanates from fascist and ultra-right sources. Why, they ask, is it given free reign in the USSR?

The memorandum asks implementation of Soviet law making anti-Semitism a crime. But the key aspect of the Jewish question in the USSR, it declares, is the need to restore Jewish national and cultural rights on an equal basis with all other nationalities. Following the October Revolution, Soviet Jews gained full individual civic rights and national rights as a group. A Jewish culture was encouraged, Jewish areas were set up in the Ukraine and Biro-Bidzhan was declared an Autonomous Jewish region in 1934.

the study of Yiddish; no readers, grammars, textbooks, schools to teach Yiddish as a second language or to instruct in modern Jewish history or culture. The single Yiddish monthly, *Soviet Haimland*, occasionally publishes Yiddish alphabet and grammar instruction, but this has not been reprinted in accessible form.

►Conference organizers arrested.

In December, at the time of publication of the memorandum, its charge of suppression of Jewish culture was further documented by the arrest of organizers of a Jewish cultural symposium in Moscow and an attempt to prevent the symposium. The stated purpose of the symposium was to define the condition of Soviet-Jewish culture and to present possible ways of developing it so as to escape “total spiritual destruction.” Among the 13 organizers were some who had sought to emigrate, but the call declared that while the right to emigrate is important for those desiring to do so, “the cultural awareness of the mass of Soviet Jewry is even more important.”

Papers were invited from prominent Jews throughout the USSR and scholars from several other countries. The American Association for Jewish Studies, an “establishment” group of academicians, was requested to select several American scholars as participants and did name four university professors. They, and all other foreigners who sought to participate, were refused visas.

Though the organizers were arrested or compelled by the police to remain at home on the opening day of the scheduled three-day gathering and Soviet participants from outside of Moscow were either prevented from travelling to the city or forced to return, some participants managed to gather at a private suburban home. In New York four leading scholars, including the presidents of Columbia and Yeshiva Universities, held a “paral-

Thais seek U.S. nuclear weapons

By Jeffrey Stein

Washington. On Oct. 6, a military coup toppled Thailand's democratically elected government. The new government has moved swiftly to suppress suspected leftists and to reverse its predecessors' opening toward the communist governments of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, while seeking to integrate itself with American multinational corporations.

Newly leaked diplomatic cables sent from the American embassy in Bangkok summarizing talks between American officials and two senior members of Thailand's National Administrative Reform Council, Foreign Affairs adviser Thanat Khoman and Foreign Minister Upadit, reveal the new government's plans and motives.

They show that the government sought nuclear weapons from the U.S. for possible use against the Vietnamese government and they show the overriding importance the new regime attached to creating a "favorable climate" for foreign investors.

► Nuclear weapons sought.

In the cables, which were first leaked to "Clergy and laity concerned," an anti-war church group, ambassador Charles Whitehouse reported the request for nuclear weapons at the Oct. 14 meeting:

"Thanat, toward the end of the conversation spoke with some concern of Hanoi's intentions. He said it was obvious to him that Thailand could never match the Vietnamese should a conventional attack be launched across the border. Thus it was most important to Thailand to acquire and exercise whatever means it could—unconventional, diplomatic, etc.—in order to prevent a Vietnamese move against the country. Both [Deputy Chief of Mission John] Burke and I understood his use of the word 'unconventional' to mean 'nuclear'."

An American State Department official here said Thailand had not made an official request for the weapons and that it would be highly unlikely they would receive them should such a request be received.

The cables also contain discussions of how the U.S. Congress and American business community would view the coup.

Reported Ambassador Whitehouse: "I told [Thanat] that it seemed clear from initial reporting that the government change was being viewed as a retrograde step and a retreat from democracy in Thailand. If this impression were reinforced by repressive and arbitrary acts by the NARC that appear to be in violation of human rights, it is not inconceivable that the same constituency in the U.S. that has been vocal in its criticism of President Park and President Marcos might become very critical of Thailand."

According to the cables, Thanat responded that "little material harm would result if certain members of Congress would find the new regime objectionable. It was obvious, in his opinion, that foreign capital would flow to a well-run nation that provided such an environment."

► No problems between us.

U.S. officials called on Foreign Minister Upadit again on Nov. 8, according to the cables, to discuss "several points of pending business," including the creation of a stable Thai economy to attract American investment.

They "noted that some important signal would go a long way in helping create a favorable climate...." and "noted that several of the oil companies had made what appeared to be promising discoveries of gas in the Gulf of Siam and were apparently awaiting some favorable response from the government before moving ahead with their exploration."

"There was also New Jersey Zinc," American officials told Upadit, "which

had an ambitious smelter project well along in the planning stage.... Upadit seemed firmly convinced of the importance of a favorable investment climate and was ready to recommend governmental action designed to foster its creation."

"You see," Upadit was reported to have responded, "there are really no problems between us."

"The implication of this statement," U.S. officials noted, "was that all of the outstanding bilateral problems had disappeared with the former government."

► U.S. aids coup.

Further examination of the cables and other materials show that Thai officials were extremely reluctant to meet with American embassy officials either publicly or privately in the days following the coup. The Chairman of the National Administrative Reform Council, Admiral Sa-Ngat, was worried that if word of a meeting got out it would provoke more charges by Hanoi that the coup had been instigated by the U.S.

The cables also suggest that the Thai generals possessed a contingency plan almost a year before the coup and that the U.S. had prior knowledge of the coup. They state flatly that the King of Thailand had stopped an earlier takeover by the military scheduled for February.

American government figures show that during the three years of Thailand's "experiment with democracy," as it has been called, American aid dipped by almost half, while military aid dropped by about a third. In 1973, economic aid to-

taled \$75.9 million, military aid \$63.7 million. By late 1976, however, as rumors of a military coup repeatedly swept the capitol, American aid soared—to \$77.2 million in economic grants, \$81.7 million in military grants.

Analysts say aid was increased for two reasons: One, there was uncertainty over Hanoi's intentions following victory in South Vietnam. Secondly, it was in the interest of American policy to maintain a strong Thai military in the face of a deteriorating economy, especially should a coup be forthcoming.

► Thai leaders fear opposition.

The leaked diplomatic cables show that Thai leaders were apprehensive of counter-coups from the day they smashed student demonstrations in bloody street rioting three months ago and seized power in Bangkok. Some participants in the coup were sent abroad, such as Lt. Gen. Withun Yasawai to "supervise Thai students in Japan." Another officer, Gen. Chalot, was abruptly dismissed four days after the coup, according to the cables, "under circumstances that indicate he was engaged in coup plotting."

The cables also show that American officials believed the Thai government "cannot continue in its present form indefinitely," because it was unwieldy as a 24-member ruling junta and thus hamstrung in efforts to deal with immediate political and economic problems effectively.

Close observers of Thailand have noted some recent progress by the junta in achieving its ends. The junta has claimed a 24 percent decrease in crime—owing

largely to the nighttime curfew. Trade unions have been outlawed and dissent curbed. There has been a renewed emphasis on the traditional values of monarchy, Buddhism and patriotism.

Notorious Thai red tape has been cut as well to grease the wheels for foreign investment. New Jersey Zinc has been granted its concession to mine zinc.

► Overpublicized forays.

But arrayed against these factors are other trends that do not augur well for the junta.

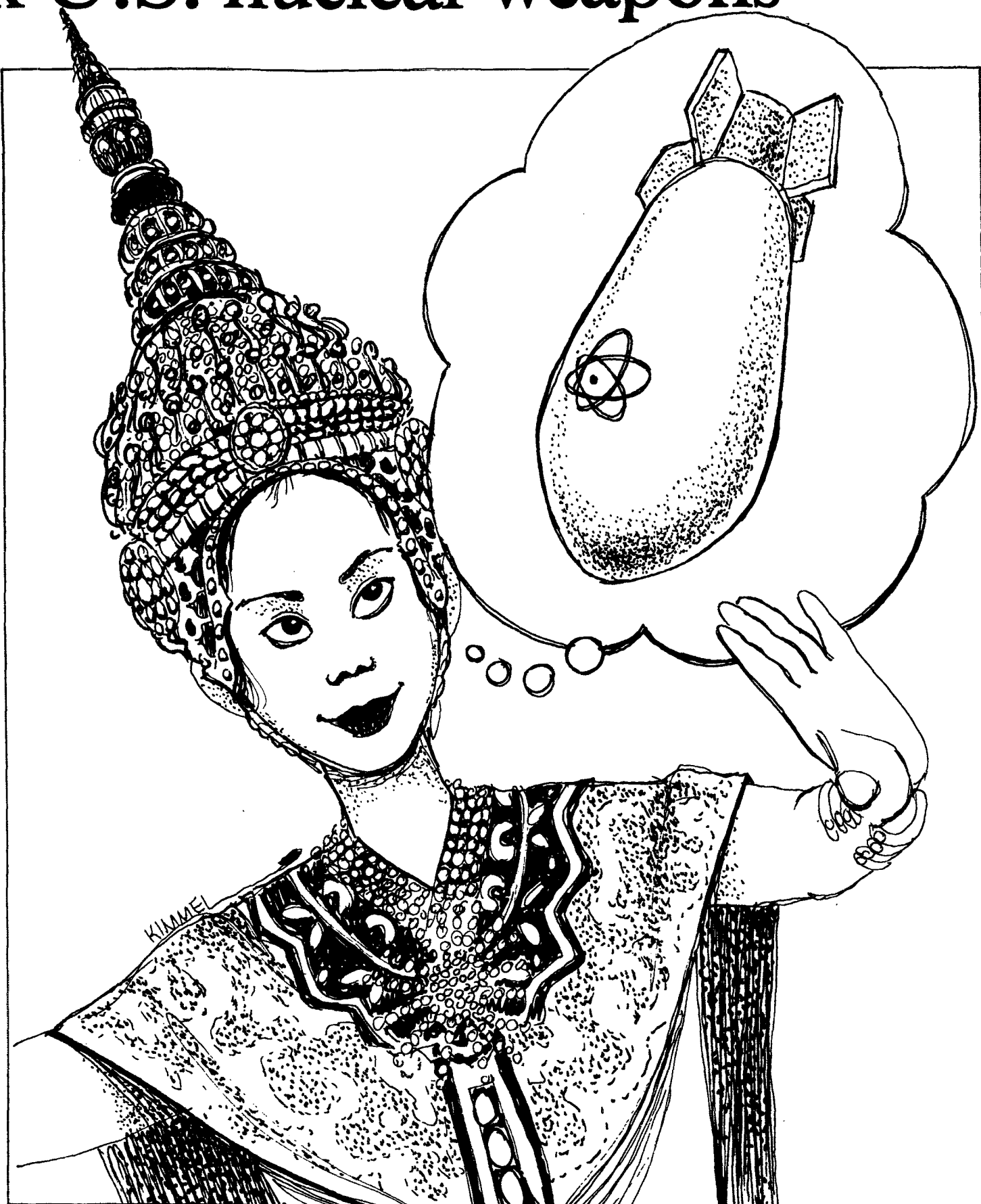
Student activists are beginning to join communist insurgents in the countryside, and the Communist guerrilla forces have stepped up their attacks.

The junta's forays against the communists in the countryside are overpublicized and, the cables reveal, "meant for domestic [Thai] consumption." As always, the Thai government is Bangkok-oriented and neglects the countryside, making it easier for the rebels to win popular support.

With continued instability, moreover, the present government's days appear numbered. With every mistake by the junta, a diplomat in Bangkok recently observed, the communists gain respectability. And with those gains grows a reluctance by foreign firms to invest.

Said an American intelligence official of the Thai junta last week: "I'm convinced that you just can't tell what those nuts will do next. Nothing would surprise me."

Jeffrey Stein is an investigative reporter in Washington, D.C.



A New French Revolution? A Four-Part Series



Francois Mitterand: French Socialist party leader.

The big question in France today is no longer whether the left can win, but what will it do with the victory.

By Bernard H. Moss

In 1972 the French Socialist and Communist parties agreed to a "common program" for achieving socialism. Since then, the united left has steadily increased its vote and its active membership. In the 1978 assembly elections, a left victory is now deemed likely. In a series of four articles, Bernard Moss explores the nature of the coalition between Socialists and Communists and the chances for the "peaceful transition to socialism" that they seek.

"La France est désormais socialiste!"—"From now on France will be socialist!"—crowded Socialist leaders after the united left of Socialists, Communists, and Left Radicals had gained an overall majority in cantonal (or "county") elections last spring. Observers are predicting greater gains for the left in municipal elections this March and final victory in the 1978 legislative elections.

The elections signaled that the French left had finally crossed the threshold of a popular majority, the first time in history that a coalition of parties pledged to socialism had received an electoral majority. They were, moreover, a triumph for democratic socialism, for a Communist party committed to democratic means and a Socialist party rededicated to Socialism.

The unity current has benefited both of the major left parties. From the small faltering party that emerged from the rump of the SFIO (French section of the Second International) in 1969, the Socialists have burgeoned into a militant mass party receiving over one-quarter of the vote. Though barely gaining electorally, the Communists have nearly doubled their membership since the '60s and added hundreds of new factory cells. The ranks of the major trade union confederations, the Communist-led CGT and socialist CFDT have also swelled. Whatever doubts the parties may have had about their unusual alliance have been allayed by its extraordinary success.

►Left undermines d'Estaing.

The growth of a united left has seriously undermined support for the regime of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, who was narrowly elected president in 1974. In a nation beset with inflation, business stagnation and unprecedented high rates of unemployment, confidence in the regime has sunk to a new low.

When Giscard d'Estaing, the cool and urbane former minister for finances, assumed office he promised a more open, liberal and humane—a more American—form of monopoly capitalism. He appeared before photographers in polo shirts and swim trunks and sat down to dinner with humble French families. To liberals he pledged reforms in the areas of prison administration, press liberty and

women's rights. With the votes of the left, he obtained passage of a bill legalizing abortion.

All the while, he pursued rigorously conservative economic and social policies, along lines indicated by the CNPF, the French employers' association, and moved France's foreign and defense policies into closer alignment with the U.S.

Rather than winning reformists and liberals to his side, he split the governing coalition and drove the disillusioned liberals to the left.

Hard line Gaullists, whose leader Jacques Chirac resigned as Premier last fall, have recently rallied their forces, rebaptized themselves and taken their distance from the President. With public confidence waning, recent polls indicate that even a majority of French businessmen expect a left victory in 1978. They have already begun to vote by shifting their financial holdings to New York and Zurich.

The big question in France today is no longer whether the left can win, but what will it do with its victory. Will the alliance around the Common Program hold? Will a left government be able to overcome the obstructions that Giscard d'Estaing and the U.S. will place in its path and carry France all the way to socialism?

►Socialism the only immediate reform.

The French program for a peaceful transition to socialism has raised eyebrows among veteran Stalinists and cold war social democrats, who find the whole idea of a Communist/Socialist axis unnatural.

The radicalization of social democracy and democratization of Communism is a fairly recent trend that has occurred in several industrial countries with mass Communist parties, including Italy, Spain and Japan. Yet, even among the so-called Euro-Communists, there are important national differences.

The program of the French party is more advanced in respect to socialism

than the Spanish or Italian because France is a more highly developed industrial democracy than Spain or Italy. The French left considers that socialism is the only immediate reformist solution to the crisis facing the working class. Its program for an advanced social democracy only makes sense as a transition to a full-fledged socialist economy.

The Spanish and Italians are working to carry out the tasks of the democratic revolution—to eliminate remnants of fascism and build democracy in Spain; to defend democracy, end corruption in government, and overcome the immediate economic crisis in Italy. In return for the enforcement of tax laws and reforms in housing, health, education and public transportation, the Italians have even offered to accept wage reductions in order to get the capitalist economy moving again. They believe that the peaceful road to socialism for a dependent economy such as theirs is currently blocked by the NATO alliance and American domination of Europe.

►France is not Chile.

The French left bases its hopes for a peaceful transition on France's status as a highly developed and relatively independent power that stands outside of the NATO military pact. Whether France will be able to carry off a peaceful transition will depend on the extent to which this estimate is accurate; on the extent to which as Régis Debray, former companion to Che Guevara and now a Socialist leader, has said, France is not Chile.

France is the fourth largest industrial capitalist state with a social structure and per capita income approaching that of the U.S. More than its Common Market partners, it possesses the economic potential to stand up to the external capitalist pressures that will be brought to bear against a socialist regime. Its well-balanced economy is a net exporter of foodstuffs and industrial equipment. Except for highly

specialized fields like computer technology, most industry has remained under French control. Having converted to a system of mass higher education, France has a pool of scientific and technical talent that has remained impervious to the brain drain to the U.S.

Since the war it has developed a highly regulated mixed economy that is the model of what Communists call state monopoly capitalism. Under De Gaulle the government helped the larger firms to merge and to rationalize in order to prepare them for international competition with the multinationals. Special credits were bestowed upon the high technology fields—aerospace, armaments and nuclear energy.

France became the second largest arms supplier in the West. Retaining links with former colonies in Asia and Africa, it maintained its position as a relatively independent imperialist power. De Gaulle also tried to conduct a truly independent foreign policy on the basis of an advanced technological infrastructure.

Modernization has effected significant changes in French society. Since 1954 the peasant population, generally a bulwark of conservatism, has declined and 80 percent of the active population are now wage earners who have an objective interest in the social ownership of the means of production. By eliminating those social groups—of independent producers—that are most susceptible to capitalist ideology and organization, modernization has created the social conditions for a peaceful transition to socialism.

►Strong neutralist sentiment benefits the left.

The left thinks that the transition will be facilitated by the sense of mission and national independence that has made France the most troublesome American ally. France's unwillingness to rely on other nations for defense was expressed in strong neutralist sentiment during the cold war and in widespread approval for De Gaulle's independent policies.

Recently, Giscard's partial surrender of these independent policies—and his quiet re-integration of French units into the NATO alliance—have alarmed his Gaullist supporters, including the military. It is estimated that half of the junior officers voted for the socialist Mitterand in the 1974 presidential elections. A left government that defended national independence against outside American pressures could probably count on the loyalty, not only of the conscripts, but of most officers as well. In contrast to 1948, the U.S. enjoys little political or ideological credit in France today.

For these reasons—economic, social and political—the left believes that it will be able to overcome internal and external pressures and pass on to socialism without civil war.

The left believes that as long as it remains united, more and more people will be driven by the problems of capitalism to seek a socialist solution. Time, they feel, is on their side. They are patient and confident, waiting for the scheduled revolution.

Bernard Moss lives in Paris and is writing a book on the French left. He is author of *The Origins of the French Labor Movement*.

Chicago after Daley

Introduction

It was like a death in the family.

Newspaper editorialists, television anchormen, people in the cold streets, business and labor executives, and—never to be outdone—local politicians lamented the death of Chicago's Mayor Richard J. Daley (see *In These Times*, Jan 5) as if their collective father had died of a heart attack on the floor of his doctor's office.

The stream of tributes almost ignored what the man had done in just under 22 years as Mayor. Instead he was remembered as the kind of father of seven children, the doting grandfather, the loving husband of a servile wife, the fisherman, the neighborhood guy in his Bridgeport bungalow, the jolly, jowled boss who always asked "how's the family?", the devoted Catholic with worn prayer cards in his wallet at his death, or perhaps the father figure at the head of a political machine rooted in a network of personal favors and jobs for cousin Jimmy.

Nobody should underestimate the force of this foursquare, All-American (or Irish-American, more accurately), down-home image in Daley's successful hold on power in Chicago. His paternalistic air, his penchant for private handshakes and personal deals, and his deference to the most cherished values in the most banal terms made up one of the stylistic keys to political clout.

Outside Chicago, Daley had an unfamiliar image: the mayor who unleashed a "police riot" against anti-war demonstrators in 1968, the man who told police to "shoot to kill" blacks in street riots, the kingpin of a corrupt machine that could vote the dead when necessary to win. Most Chicagoans chose to ignore that side or else come to his support.

Daley, however, was a lot more than image. In the following articles, five close observers of the Daley years look at the machine within the myth and the man to critically examine what Daley did and how he did it. Here is Daley the political boss, Daley the corrupter of trade unions, Daley the not-so-astounding "financial wizard," Daley the practitioner of a coarse "plantation politics" and Daley the architect of a city, its buildings and its economy.

Daley's legacy: homegrown American totalitarianism



Photo by Paul Sequeira

By Don Rose

There was a simple appeal for the left in the battle against the late Mayor Richard J. Daley and his still flourishing machine—it was the appeal of having a large, simplistic target around which a classic "anti" campaign could be built.

Daley's brutal policemen smashing the heads of antiwar protesters at the 1968 Democratic National Convention was one of the major images. His "shoot to kill" order in response to riots following the murder of Martin Luther King was another. The coverup of the slaying of Black Panther Fred Hampton was yet another.

So gross and shocking were these images that major coalitions reaching from far left to very near the center became possible; coalitions that in many ways could cut across racial as well as political lines—although they never cracked the class barrier to the extent desired by their organizers.

Yet those images and organizing loci were relatively superficial—however monstrous they were in fact—for the more insidious and deeper engrained social issues reflected by the late mayor's rule often were not understood as fully as they might be.

Daley's reign and the politics it represents must, in fact, be understood fundamentally as a native American totalitarianism.

One winces at the prospect of branding it even more strongly as "fascist," attempting to avoid overheated catchwords, but the concept is not inappropriate in classic political terms.

Let's examine some of the aspects.

First, the political and the governmental powers were merged totally in clear-cut one-party rule; it would be difficult for anyone to determine where the politics of the Cook County Democratic Central Committee stopped and the government of Chicago began. Daley, as incar-

nation of both, unified both powers single-mindedly and applied them with an iron fist. His philosophy of government, to the extent it existed, was to the right of the American center.

As with all dictatorships, there was no public dissent permitted within the party structure—and dissenters from the outside were dealt with in as repressive a manner as was possible within the elastic limits of Daley-run law. The comic manifestation of this, of course, was Daley's propensity for shutting off the microphone of a dissenting independent or Republican alderman at City Council meetings. (At various points, dissenters numbered from two to six out of the 50 alderman.)

But such gestures, also, were superficial, contrasted with his absolute domination of two other facets of the democratic society—the criminal justice system and the electoral process.

The police, the county sheriff's office, the prosecutor's office, the public defender's office, the local, state and until recently the federal courts and the prison system were all (except in a handful of unusual cases) elected by him and his machine or appointed by him and therefore under his complete domination.

If we define a police state as the use of military or police forces for political purposes—not simply as the brutality of overzealous, old-style cops—then Daley's use of police again was classic. Suppression of civil rights and peace demonstrations by the police were clearcut political actions, scarcely explainable as being related to traditional police functions. Similarly, the massive and still growing evidence of police spying, surveillance and dossier-keeping on political opposition fits the mold perfectly.

I think back to an exemplary case where a band of civil rights marchers were peacefully picketing the mayor's home in 1965; his neighbors were deeply offended and began pummeling the marchers with rocks and eggs. The police proceeded to arrest not the white rioters, but the peaceful marchers. It took a decision of the U.S. Supreme Court to reverse the decision that was upheld by three levels of Daley's courts in approving the arrests.

Sinclair Lewis's scare novel of a right-wing takeover in the U.S. was called "It Can't Happen Here." In Chicago it did.

It was not enough for Daley's machine to be able to win elections through its own prodigious and inherent force; it was necessary for his Board of Election Commissioners consistently to reduce potential threats by throwing opposition candidates off the ballot and for his elections judge to uphold the decisions of that board. It took a massive newspaper campaign, federal vote-fraud prosecutions and a host of Republican-appointed federal judges to begin to alter the process in later years.

Repression was not limited merely to political dissent; it was aimed specifically at minorities. Racial segregation and denial of power was the official policy of the city. Segregation by use of public policy has been documented in the courts in the matter of the school system and the public housing system—the latter firmly entrenching a racially segregated housing market in an incremental conspiracy with the real estate industry. It was buttressed by a host of related land-use actions, including the creation of expressways and other public works to create barriers to black migration and to control that movement as much as possible.

Ancillary to that and exemplary again of public policy is the existence of planned segregation in police and fire department employment, facts also documented in federal courts.

The net product is the most segregated city in the United States. That was no accident. It is another product of the Daley "genius."

Again, in a manner that echoes German National Socialism or the Spain of Franco, business and industry are the willing partners of despotism. Thomas Coulter, chief executive officer of the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry wistfully commented to the press shortly after Daley's death that a "benevolent dictatorship" was probably the preferred form of government for the city. He was not alone among the business elite in speaking so badly of what Daley was and meant—and what that means to business (which does not conceive of itself as a democratic institutional form). The symbiotic relationship between government and business serves the needs of capital and strengthens the powers of government.

Organized labor—especially the right-wing construction unions which grew fat under Daley the "builder"—is another willing part of the system. So too is organized crime.

Sinclair Lewis' scare novel of a right-wing take-over in the U.S. was called "It Can't Happen Here."

In Chicago it did.

And there was and is a willing public that was not forced along, but went along willingly—sometimes joyously. The motivations were racial in large part and were encouraged by economic control through patronage.

Changing that—even piece by piece, if possible, where possible—is what some of the left was about in Chicago and what it ought to continue to be about. The rest of the country can't be too far behind Chicago. ■

Don Rose is a veteran independent political campaign organizer, former editor of the *Hyde Park-Kenwood Voices* and a political writer.

Daley and labor: no mavericks allowed

By Sidney Lens

Not the least of the sociological achievements we shall ponder for a long time now that Richard Daley has passed on was His Honor's capacity to corrupt the Chicago labor movement. Virtually every mayor works diligently to establish class peace in his community by catering to the so-called moderates in the labor leadership and making life difficult for the "hot-heads." But Daley made a science of this technique.

The trick is to get yourself a nucleus of labor "statesmen" on whom you lavish favors and honors and to whom you gratuitously refer as the "labor movement." These gentry in turn impose discipline on the would-be rabble-rousers, so that the levers of power are always in the hands of the mayor and his elitist clique in the house of labor. Any unionist who bucks that power does so at his own peril, usually at the price of certain defeat. On the other hand, those on the inside—and their members—are rewarded handsomely.

Let me illustrate. Vic Gotbaum now heads District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Union, which represents 105,000 members in New York. Until 1964 he operated in Chicago where he was a bang-up organizer—articulate, capable, and slightly socialistic. He was also a complete flop. He tried for years to unionize city and county workers, but to no avail, because Dick Daley didn't want them organized and in this he had the unflinching support of the late Bill McFetridge, president of the local flat janitors and of the Building Service Employees International Union (BSEIU). McFetridge was Daley's alter ego and the powerhouse who (with a few friends like Bill Lee) ran the official Chicago movement. Had he taken his members out on strike, Gotbaum not only would have received no support but open hostility.

► **No mavericks wanted.**

In fact, when Vic unionized the non-professional employees at the Mount Sinai Hospital and was forced to "hit the bricks," that is exactly what happened. One word from Daley and McFetridge and the hospital would certainly have come to terms. But Daley and McFetridge didn't want mavericks in the labor movement to gain a foothold. Therefore the teamsters went through Gotbaum's picket line at the request of their leaders and the strike atrophied into impotence.

Early in the walkout I went to see McFetridge, with whom I still had a fairly decent relationship, and pleaded Gotbaum's case. "Whatever you think of Gotbaum

personally," I told McFetridge, "this is a legitimate strike and if it is won the whole hospital industry will be unionized." My plea had no effect whatsoever, except to put me too on the persona non grata list.

The local union which I headed—a paid-up affiliate of McFetridge's international—had had a similar experience years earlier. We gave out circulars at the largest hospital in the city, Michael Reese, and surprisingly got 780 out of 820 workers to sign application cards. The hospital refused to recognize us, and refused to agree to an election. Whereupon I asked McFetridge for strike sanction.

"I'll have to talk to the mayor," he said, and of course the mayor wouldn't hear of inconveniencing sick people in a large Jewish hospital, whose board of trustees were amongst his most fervid business supporters. Twelve or fifteen years later, however, when two other unions—with closer ties to Daley than I had—decided to unionize the field, they got the green light from City Hall and gained recognition and union contracts far and wide.

► **Labor elite got its share.**

Daley was a genius in forging a conglomerate of elites—in labor, business, banking, the black community, real estate—into a tight monolith.

The labor elite got more than its share, for Daley, the son of a sheet-metal unionist and lifelong friend of union officials such as McPettridge, Lee, Steve Bailey (of the plumbers), Ray Schoessler (of the teamsters) and others, gave them top jobs with the Park District, the Police Board, the Civil Service Commission and what have you. He saw to it that their craft union workers, employed by the city and county, got the same wages and better benefits (for less grueling work) as workers in private industry.

When the teachers went on strike it was Daley who got it settled a few days after the walkout began; the teachers union leaders were no threat to his power. But Daley bitterly opposed collective bargaining for other city and county employees, because collective bargaining for 25,000 or 30,000 patronage workers and the police and firemen would have created a counter-loyalty to that of the political machine. Thus, Daley always paid wages comparable to or better than in other cities—but only on condition that his system of political power not be challenged. And in that he had, until his death, the fulsome support of the men in power in Chicago's house of labor.

The labor movement in Chicago today is among the least militant and least progressive politically in the country—where once upon a time it was far and away the most militant and most progressive. For this miracle the rank and file workers of Chicago paid the price of living in the most segregated city in the northern part of the country, enjoying one of the worst school systems, being harassed by a red squad using the same tactics as the FBI's Cointelpro, and wallowing in the decay of 35 of its 76 neighborhoods—poor almost beyond redemption.

This too was Daley's legacy, but no one except for a few sturdy souls like Studs Terkel, Tom Fitzpatrick, and Len Despres, bothered to mention it in the cascade of eulogies that poured forth on his death. Daley's successors, Mayor Bilandic and County Chairman Dunne, will no doubt try hard to keep the Daley technique intact, but they are rank amateurs compared to the master—and anyway there is no longer the kind of give in Chicago's economy that can sustain the Daley form of paternalistic monarchy. ■

Daley and finances: historical luck

By Leon M. Despres

Through his experience as State Director of Revenue under Governor Adlai Stevenson, Richard J. Daley learned about public finance. Because he fully understood the importance of public accounting procedures, his most distinguished appointee when he was installed as Mayor was the new comptroller, Carl Chatters, a man of excellent national reputation and wide experience in public finance. Chatters greatly strengthened the Chicago city government's internal accounting procedures.

Like most other big city mayors, Daley also understood getting and spending money, borrowing from banks and watching cash flow. He loved the big banks because they supported him and gave money to the city; and they always loved their dealings with the city because the loans were so steadily profitable.

When Daley died, the Chicago city government financial crisis was plainly visible to those with eyes to see. Appalling cost increases have forced a steady attrition of services.

Daley was not, however, a fiscal wizard. In fact, until New York's financial crisis, Chicago city government appeared to be, and was, an outstanding example of swollen partisan patronage, municipal waste, recurrent political scandals and lumbering governmental organization.

To keep the party machine in power, Daley knew that the city had to deliver enough in services, but no more than enough, to prevent citizen resentment from turning the machine out of office. He had to make sure that if a citizen called for help in a fire, the fire engines really came and put out fires; that the police came upon call, even if they did not stop crime; that holes in the streets would not be constantly breaking car axles; that heavy snow was cleared from the principal streets; that water flowed from the taps on command, and then smoothly flowed away; and that the condition of the central city area satisfied Chicago's big business and financial interests.

Failure to spend enough money for such purposes would soon have created massive, fatal irritation. But Daley knew he could stay in office and still not solve or even ease segregation and discrimination, partisan patronage, the deterioration of neighborhoods, the decline of city schools, the rise in political corruption, or the absence of planning for the city's future.

►Fractured government makes Daley look good.

While Daley was Mayor, there was no adverse publicity about city financial procedures. One reason was that Daley kept tight control over disclosure of information and saw to it that such information did not become news. the other reason was that he never permitted any of the great independent auditing firms to do the Chicago city government audit. He gave such auditing work to politically connected

Leon M. Despres, now active as a labor lawyer, was Mayor Daley's chief critic in the city council as an independent alderman from 1955 to 1975.

ted friends who, significantly and not to Chicago formation he favorable inform

Daley looked at the financial administration during the financial crisis of the 1930s. Years of his administration have always been doing so many financial crises, New York deserved plus for Chicago's financial crisis and less full-blown

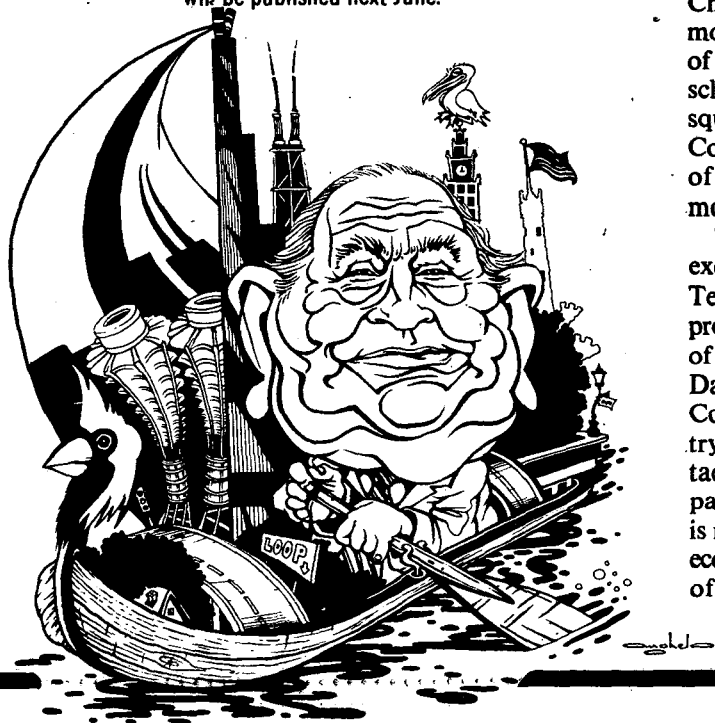
New York's citizens are responsible not only for the city street, and the city government, but also for the city hospitals, transportation and correctional systems. In these, Daley has a reputation of being a

By historical government service, separate Chicago, rather than New York, is insolvent. Chicago's government is insolvent because of its legal difficulties. The Transportation Authority is operating at a loss. It is difficult to allocate an open financial plan for one, do that one is in its fractured Chicago has the same public funds as New York, but they are not. Chicago's city government looked good next

►The crisis is here. Another historical... For years, New... had the legal r... banks on unsec... by their promise... ated a civic addic... liked the profits... tion loved the... nois, until home... Illinois law did... government the... however, Daley... the New York... of the earlier... cago had been... temptations to... felled New York.

By Dec. 20, 1977 Chicago city govt was plainly see it. Appalling forced a steady wages will have to ing costs. Real e sharply declinin also falling. C (head taxes, tri and the like) c ther. Rich federal have shrunk. The bring itself to re tronage stranglehol

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Sidney Lens's 17th book, *The Day Before Doomsday*, will be published next June.

fter Daley

Daley and blacks: plantation politics and racist stubbornness

By Francis Ward

ey found anything reported it to him. The freedom of in- ed was freedom of

nationally as a fi- because New York's during the last few ation. Chicagoans ed over New York's first, but in finan- 's first was an un- y's reputation. Chi- only less visible

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Richard J. Daley's political career spanned half a century—from 1923 when he became a precinct captain in the "old hood," Bridgeport, to Dec. 20, 1976, 20 months into his sixth straight term as mayor of Chicago. During that career, Daley earned a well-deserved reputation as a man who rewarded his family and friends (especially if they were from Bridgeport) while paying little homage to those he felt he didn't have to respect.

This tendency, along with Daley's own racism, explains his relations with blacks throughout his tenure as Democratic Party overlord and mayor: He imperiously demanded and got their votes on election day, dispensed the minimum favor and patronage necessary to keep their loyalty, conveniently elevated a black front man whenever it suited his purposes, and just as conveniently discarded him when no longer needed.

The major spoils of political power and privilege—the best, highest paying jobs, the lucrative city contracts, inner circles of party power—were reserved for those whites whom Daley favored, either because he wanted to or because he had to.

To Daley, as with most white Chicago politicians, it was inconceivable that blacks should share in the councils of party power. After all, they reasoned, regardless of how often or faithful blacks voted Democratic, their "leaders" seldom demanded a piece of the action at the top. Frederick Douglass' admonition of a century ago rings true today: "Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never has and it never will."

►Plantation politics under Daley.

Faced with few demands from blacks, Daley and his Democratic party conceded little in the way of services, influential jobs or real party power.

Under Daley, "Plantation Politics" was the accepted norm for the poorest black communities that always gave Daley and the Democrats their highest percentages on election day. The black 24th Ward on the West Side, encompassing much of Lawndale, is still known as the most "deliverable" Democratic ward in the country. The percentage of the Democratic vote, whether through stealing or habit, always ranges at or above 95 percent.

Since 1970, the 24th has produced two congressmen—the late George Collins and, after his death in an ill-fated plane crash in December 1972, his widow, Cardis. But the real power in the 24th has been and remains Erwin (Izzy) Horowitz, whom the faithful in the 24th Democratic organization affectionately call "The Coach."

Horowitz, who only recently relinquished his post as ward committeeman, making sure it was entrusted in the hands of party loyalist Walter Shumpert, comes from a line of Jewish bosses in the 24th: Jack Arvey, who used the mostly Jewish 24th as his base of political power during the 1930s and '40s; Arthur X. Elrod (father of Cook County sheriff Richard Elrod), Sidney Deutsch and then Horowitz.

For a fleeting moment, the Jewish control of the 24th was challenged by Ben Lewis, a dapper, smart and brash black pol who wanted to control the ward's vice as well as its politics. Like any good

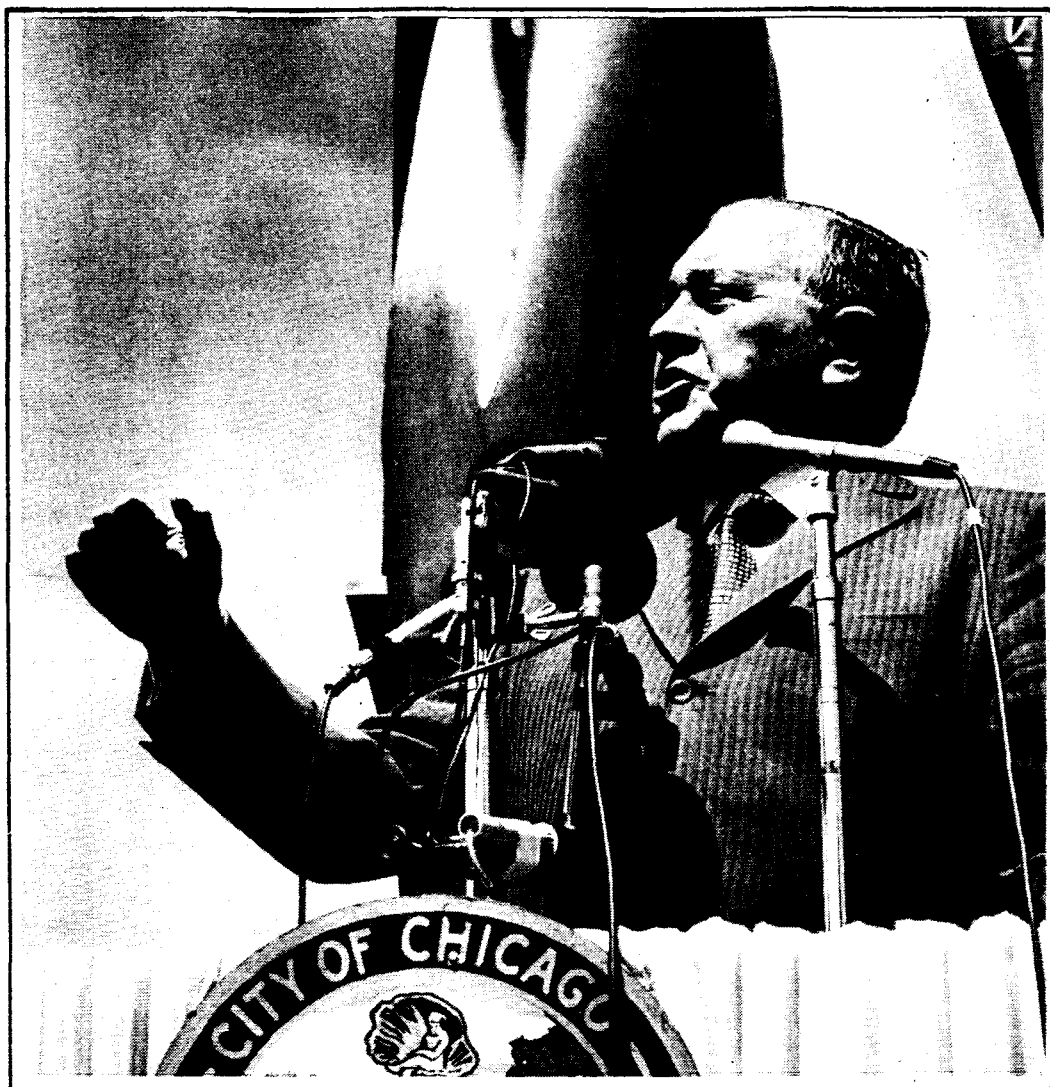


Photo by Paul Sequeira

Democrat, he knew the two were almost synonymous. But the challenge was short lived. Lewis became committeeman in 1961. In February 1963, the day he was elected alderman, Lewis was murdered in ward headquarters. His killer has never been found. The murder remains a chilling reminder to any other black with similar aspirations or audacity.

►Many plantations in Chicago.

But the 24th ward isn't the West Side's only plantation. Vito Marzullo, has been boss of the 25th Ward for as long as anybody can remember. The 27th Ward, whose most famous thoroughfare is the Madison Street bowery from Halsted to the Chicago Stadium, has long been run by a succession of Irishmen, from Frank and Harry Sain, to present boss "Big Ed" Quigley.

The 28th Ward, which (like Lawndale) made a quick changeover from white to black in the early 1950s, for years was run by Italians Anthony Girolami and Joseph Jambrone until a streak of kind benevolence compelled them to yield the ward's committeeman job to the late Isaac (Ike) Sims in the early 1970s.

Sims, who is black, served several terms in the state legislature before losing his seat in 1974 to a black independent, Jesse Madison, in one of the most startling upsets the Daley machine has ever suffered on the West Side.

Daley encouraged and defended plantation politics on the West and South Side. It ensures maximum exploitation with minimum return to the people of any benefits. It also helped to maintain the fiction that Daley owed black communities nothing.

►A monument to racist stubbornness.

Though Daley won plaudits nationally as a great urban builder and innovative fiscal wizard of city government finances, his record in race relations remains as a national monument to racist stubbornness and intransigence.

He presided over a city that became, by intent and design, one of the most segregated in America, and yet stubbornly

claimed Chicago had no slums. He and his loyal negro flunkies bitterly fought the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. when he led open housing marches in Chicago in 1966, yet Daley and these same flunkies hypocritically led the mourning in City Council following Dr. King's assassination in 1968.

Since 1970, the Chicago Housing Authority, police and fire departments have all been sued in federal court to halt racially discriminatory practices. All three are headed by Daley appointees who are carrying out their boss's policies. All three suits could have been quickly settled if Daley had favored non-discrimination in practice as he claimed he did. As a result, each suit was fought out every step of the way, primarily because Daley's Chicago would yield nothing to black people without a demand that he could not refuse.

►A few signs of disintegration.

There have been signs the past several years that the Daley machine is losing some of its hold in black communities, due either to its indifference or declining effectiveness among blacks. The most telling sign was in the 1972 election when massive numbers of blacks defected from the Democratic column to help elect Republican Bernard Carey over the machine's choice, Edward V. Hanrahan, as county attorney.

Hanrahan had masterminded the Dec. 4, 1969, police raid that resulted in the deaths of Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

The Daley machine also suffered a humiliating defeat when Ralph H. Metcalfe was reelected to Congress last year in a lopsided win over the machine's choice Erwin France, former head of the Chicago Model Cities agency.

Despite these setbacks, the Democratic organization is no more responsive to black people than it has ever been. The Daley legacy of give nothing, concede nothing without a demand, will no doubt continue until a strong, progressive independent movement successfully leads blacks away from the Democratic party into an alternative style of politics.

Francis Ward has been a Chicago correspondent for the Los Angeles Times for nearly eight years and is a member of the Kuumba Workshop.

Chicago after Daley

Post mortems: the least of a bad deal

What was distinctive about Mayor Richard Daley in comparison with other big city mayors? What was his greatest accomplishment? His greatest failure? What lessons can be learned from his years in office by people concerned about problems of the cities?

In *These Times* asked those questions of several urban experts, drawn from different points on the political spectrum. Here are excerpts from their comments:

Edward Banfield, professor of government at Harvard University, author of *The Unheavenly City* and prominent conservative theorist.

"American cities are run by a variety of independent operations interested in checking each other. In order to get much done it is necessary to find an informal way of centralizing. That's what political machines do, in Chicago with a high degree of success. At the ward level, people can reach the committeeman, but he doesn't have power to check city-wide projects. Daley was one of the few who was able to maintain that arrangement, because he was a man of great administrative ability and he was honest.

"Daley gave businessmen the sense that the city was intelligently run. They didn't think they would be harassed by some mousetrap gimmick. If political leaders of New York had paid more attention to businessmen there, the poor would be better off.

"There are costs along with the benefits. Americans seem to have preferred informal centralization to formal centralization. If they were perfectly reasonable beings, they'd conduct political affairs by rational discussion, but they aren't. So I think it's better they organize themselves through patronage and ethnic loyalties rather than some other means, such as force. Given the composition of cities and the people you've got to govern, the Chicago political system is a very good model indeed."

Pierre DeVise, assistant professor of urban sciences, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle, a frequent critic of Daley policies.

"Daley controlled the last of the city machines. He started out as a new-style boss, an efficient city manager, not an old-style boss, but he was an efficient manager of a machine.

"Probably his greatest accomplishment was to become a kingmaker and the biggest disappointment was the comedown in 1968. He brought Chicago tremendous influence and got federal funds in the Kennedy-Johnson years. After 1968 came the failures. Chicago had avoided racial confrontation and that caught up with it, as well as peace demonstrations and the convention week. From that year on the mayor was a failure.

"The main lesson would be to prevent another leader from combining chairman and mayor and try to prevent another representative of the Irish Mafia from holding the office. I think political action at the local level is gone. Daley was unique as a local, state and national leader."

Stanley Hallet, faculty of Center for Urban Affairs, Northwestern University, graduate school of management.

"Daley paid attention to the fundamentals. He kept his Roman Catholic Irish identity as a glue in the ethnic mosaic of the city and focused on the basic questions of physical infrastructure, negotiating the deals and managing the finances necessary to rebuild that infrastructure from highways to sewer plants.

"The first lesson for liberals and the left would be to pay attention to ethnicity and religion. The second would be to get a better grip on the fundamentals, economy and infrastructure, as a basis for building more democratic political life and better civic institutions."

Richard Hatcher, Mayor of Gary, Ind., national black political leader.

"I think the most distinctive thing was his ability to put together a workable coalition of private business interests, political interests and organized labor interests in such a way as to be able to transcend the limitations of the Mayor's office itself.

"His greatest accomplishment was that he was able to build the city physically, the lakefront, skyscrapers, highways. I know he's regarded as a 'man of the people,' but his greatest failure was that the people, or certain people, were not given the kind of attention they deserve. When you look at the South Side and the West Side of Chicago, these are areas of abject failure. To some degree white working class neighborhoods did not fare all that much better than blacks and Latinos. Daley's support of some of the more base attitudes of the people contributed greatly to racial segregation that still prevails in Chicago.

Ira Katznelson, associate professor of political science, University of Chicago, co-author of *Politics of Power*.

"In some ways Daley was a genuinely working class politician, who was able to treat working class politics as intensely personal, local and distributive. Yet he was able to keep invisible from the neighborhoods his relationship with representatives of capital and the State, outside of the city. He was the master of that and gave the fullest and most classic expression to a traditional American grammar of working class politics. That orientation to localities gave him immense freedom to bargain and broker with other powers.

"His most positive accomplishment, even though it had enormous costs, was that without challenging any of the features or routine operation of the American economy, he was able to maximize resources for Chicago, getting for the city the least bad deal. His biggest failure was not challenging the basic forces that were producing a declining Chicago.

"At some point the left has got to challenge the enormous gap between the language and politics of the community and the real impact of the political economy on the neighborhood. Also, challenges to machine, working-class politics can't be effective with liberal reform campaigns. Daley at a minimum was of the working class, but the liberal reformers are often profoundly anti-working class."

Len O'Connor, author of *Clout*, a biography of Daley, and political commentator on WGN-TV.

"He depended on nobody but himself. He had no partners.

"His greatest accomplishment was that he survived as long as he survived.

"You'd have to look at the lessons from the standpoint of practical politics—'Give ground grudgingly—maintain the status quo as long as possible until you face revolt'. He preserved white ethnic cohesiveness. He didn't want open occupancy. He wanted to keep blacks where he could vote them. For Daley everything was politics.

"The big lesson to be learned from Daley is 'inherit a powerful machine and a solvent city'. That's the moral."

Daley the builder: Chicago still crumbles

By David Moberg
Staff Writer

"What trees do they plant?" Mayor Daley asked in attacking demonstrators at the 1968 Chicago Democratic party convention.

Although not famous for his trees, Daley did plant expressways, universities, convention centers, an international airport, and many public buildings. He encouraged private investors to build skyscraper offices (Sears, Standard Oil and John Hancock most recently), shopping centers and high-rise apartments.

Like Robert Moses in New York, Daley swung a heavy hammer, knocking down an old city to make way for profitable construction of a new one appealing to big business and middle-class whites.

Any growth was better than no growth for Daley the Builder. He succeeded with the strategy better than most mayors who have tried. In the process he often destroyed much as well, and left behind a lopsided city.

► Boss, housekeeper and builder.

Daley succeeded because he was three mayors in one—boss, housekeeper, and builder.

As political boss he had centralized control of the whole city government. That meant bankers and businessmen "could reach an agreement with one person and he could deliver," Ron Grzowski, chairman of South Shore National Bank, says.

Daley the boss could stimulate private development with deals the businessmen found hard to refuse. For example, he could use the right of eminent domain and urban renewal powers to clear out large chunks of land, then assemble them into blocks for developers to build middle and upper income housing. He could guarantee enormous tax breaks through control of the assessor's office. When the University of Chicago wanted the black neighborhood to its south declared a slum and cleared, Daley could do so without delay.

Daley the boss also delivered the votes for state and national elections. During the Kennedy and Johnson years he called in those debts, bringing Chicago a disproportionate share of federal money—half a billion dollars for expressways feeding traffic into the Loop, one billion dollars for urban renewal projects, half a billion more for public housing.

Daley as housekeeper attracted private investment by concentrating the city's own resources on the classic tasks of keeping the streets clean, maintaining a tough police force and providing adequate fire protection. If funds for social welfare programs didn't come from Washington or Springfield, they got short shrift—but property taxes were held down.

Daley the builder used public money for construction that provided political monuments and helped to bind together his political coalition of banks and bondholders, real estate speculators, construction firms and the construction trade unions.

► Maintain the tax base.

"There's one thing Daley never forgot," Daley ally Julian Levi, University of Chicago law professor and chairman of the Chicago Plan Commission, says. "The ability of Chicago to survive and progress was completely dependent on it retaining its tax base. His basic strategy from the beginning was to maintain and enhance the solvency of the city."

Tax structure and land values thus

dominated city politics the way profit rules in a corporation. As a result, Daley used public construction to boost the value and quantity of downtown private building. One study showed that the city spent 88 times as much per square mile on the central business district as on the rest of the city.

"Daley was most concerned with the health and vitality of the central business district," Grzowski says. "He was mostly interested in structures, less in human development, such as schools or neighborhoods."

Take for example Daley's relationship with Sears, Roebuck and Co. The city promptly and cheaply provided Sears a block of city street and relocated water and sewer lines so that it could build its 110-story headquarters in the Loop. Yet when Sears decided to abandon a retail store that was the heart of a shopping center in the black Englewood neighborhood, none of Daley's famed clout stopped the exodus.

► Much of city sliding off a cliff.

Daley prevented Chicago's downtown from following the path of Detroit or Cleveland, but the rest of the city suffered. Ironically, that neglect is undercutting the effects of the development efforts.

Urban renewal and public housing money was often spent in black neighborhoods, but it was used to "urban remove" blacks or else to maintain segregation, more pronounced in Chicago than in any other major U.S. city. Neighborhood shopping, housing and recreation declined as a result of government neglect and redlining by financial institutions. As a result, "a significant portion of the city is simply sliding over the cliff as a result of years of inattention," Northwestern University urban studies researcher Stan Hallet says. Many businesses have fled the decaying neighborhoods, hurting the city by taking away jobs. Also, more blacks now have turned to the Loop for shopping and entertainment, to the horror of the downtown businessmen.

Daley's centralized power meant few neighborhoods had local institutions that could make the continual minor adjustments necessary for neighborhood vitality, safety and the "secondary jobs" of a thriving local economy. The exceptions were university and middle-class lakefront neighborhoods.

► Chicago still crumbled.

Daley furiously built, but Chicago still crumbled. From 1967 to 1972, 140,000 jobs were lost. In 1976, the city had a net loss of 56 homes or apartments a day. The real estate tax base declines each year despite new construction.

Corporate and government policies shaped the national trends creating problems for Chicago and other cities. Daley couldn't stop those trends or escape business cycles; he tried simply to "manage the consequences of his inability to solve problems such as poverty," in the words of Ira Katznelson, author of *Black Men, White Cities*.

Daley tried to save the city from ruin by working with and serving private capital and by attempting to attract white middle class residents. Benefits of these policies for the rest of the city "trickled down," often in a thin and uneven stream. Other mayors tried to do what he did, but few were as successful. Yet the success of Dick the Builder as a Mayor of things ultimately exaggerated his failures as a Mayor of people.

LIFE IN THE U.S.

Job-related cancer on the rise

By Bonne Nesbitt
Staff Writer

The U.S. Department of Labor estimates that in 1974, one out of every 10 workers (nearly 6 million people) suffered from a job-related disease or injury. And according to the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health, 100,000 people die of these diseases and injuries each year. If the figures are to be believed, occupational hazards are a leading cause of death in this country and working can be dangerous to your health.

One of the most serious of the job-related diseases is cancer. Second only to heart disease in the number of people it kills, the National Cancer Institute says 365,000 people a year—or roughly 1,000 people a day—die of cancer.

Many of the known carcinogenic (cancer producing) substances commonly used in industry have been around for a number of years and are only now being taken seriously.

Vinyl chloride (VC) is a good example. VC, a petrochemical used in the manufacture of polyvinyl chloride plastic (PVC) has been used in the U.S. for about 40 years. VC gas is one of several produced when petroleum is refined. To get PVC plastic the VC is "cooked" under pressure and the result is PVC resin. The resin is sent to fabricating plants where it is either pressed into plastic sheets or molded into whatever shape is desired. A very versatile product, PVC is widely used in the health, construction and many other areas.

►4.5 million live near plants.

There are currently 58 companies manufacturing VC, PVC and its close relative, ethylene dichloride (EDC). This means several hundred thousand workers are being exposed to its dangers. According to the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), more than 4.5 million people live within a 5-mile radius of the 58 companies producing the three substances. Air concentrations of PVC and EDC in those communities have been measured at levels ranging from one part per million to three parts per million.

VC was not tested to determine whether it was capable of causing cancer until 1970, when it was found to cause angiosarcoma of the liver in mice. Even then, very little was done to protect workers from exposure until B.F. Goodrich Co. reported the deaths of three workers from liver cancer in 1974.

In October 1976, the EPA ordered companies to cut VC and EDC air emission levels by 80 percent within 90 days. But the order was a follow-up on a standard it first proposed in the fall of 1975. According to the new standard, emission levels must not exceed a range of 0.1 to 0.3 parts per million.

Animal test results compiled by NIOSH show that VC workers had a rate of liver cancer 16 times higher than normal, were five times more likely to contract brain cancer and had twice the normal risk of cancer of the lymphatic system.

►In use since 1935, but not reported till 1955.

The chemical 4-aminobiphenyl was an ingredient of synthetic rubber. Animal test results released in 1952 and 1954 showed it caused cancer of the bladder. Unfortunately, it had already been in use in the U.S. since 1935 and the first cancer reports began to surface in 1955, when its use was finally discontinued.

Phenyl beta nathalamine (PBNA), a chemical used in the production of rubber products and an essential component of solid rocket fuel, has recently been found to have carcinogenic properties as a result of some European testing. B.F. Goodrich, the only American company producing PBNA, has stopped making it because of the cancer risk. But it may al-



This machinist's right lung was removed because of job-related cancer. The company he worked for mined diatomaceous earth and made various products from it. Because of the workman's compensation case this worker filed (and lost) the company was exposed for having used asbestos in its products for over 20 years. Photo by Fred Lonidier from a large artwork, "The Health and Safety Game."

ready be too late for untold numbers among the 15,000 workers who have been exposed to the substance.

Asbestos, a widely used insulating material, is another carcinogen. It has been estimated that within the next 45 years 400,000 of the country's one million past and present workers who have come in frequent contact with the material may die from cancer unless it is caught and treated in the early stages.

►Nuclear workers endangered.

A new study, released by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission a few months ago, shows that workers employed in atomic plants where radiation exposure levels were well below the present government safety standards, nevertheless have a cancer death rate 6 percent above the average.

The new results contradict years of previous study results and were obtained by checking the death certificates of nearly 4,000 atomic workers who died between 1944 and 1972.

At least 700 new chemicals come into the industrial market each year and few of them have been tested for possible carcinogenicity.

The Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), an agency within the Department of Labor, was not created until 1971—a result of the Occupational Health Law passed by Congress in 1970. And the Toxic Substances Control Act was passed by Congress only within the past four months.

The Toxic Substances Act requires the

EPA to use animal testing on all chemicals suspected of being carcinogens, when such substances have significant human exposure or are released into the environment.

►Animal testing alone is not practical.

But animal testing alone may not be a practical solution. Dr. Henry Falk of the Center for Disease Control, "the problem with that is you would very quickly run out of animals and facilities to test them."

There is also the problem of manpower and animal testing takes time. Like vinyl chloride—you just can't feed it to the animals. You have to put them in an enclosed chamber, pump the gas in, measure the levels within the enclosed space....

"And then it should be tested on more than one animal," Dr. Falk went on. "Thalidomide was a classic example. It didn't cause problems in mice and rats, but it did in monkeys and dogs." (Thalidomide was the tranquilizer that produced thousands of babies born without arms and legs when it was taken by unsuspecting pregnant women in the early '60s.) "Animal testing is a good solution, but not really feasible for 700 drugs a year," Falk believes.

►New testing methods.

The situation is not completely hopeless, however. Falk says the CDC and other researchers are closely watching new testing procedures such as the "Ames" method. The test, developed by Dr. Bruce Ames,

a California researcher, can rapidly detect a potential carcinogen with what appears to be a fairly high degree of accuracy.

"They expose bacteria to the suspected (carcinogenic) chemical and then look for mutational changes in the bacteria. Those chemicals capable of causing mutations in bacteria are likely to cause cancer," he explained. "Unfortunately, the test is not foolproof, but it's a good starting point in the weeding out process. Chemicals that give a positive mutation reaction can then be submitted to the more accurate and time-consuming animal testing." The Ames test produces a result within a couple of days, and its rate of accuracy is believed to be in the range of 80 percent.

►Cancer doesn't appear for 10-30 years.

Industrial cancer has become a serious problem and continues to be a threat to the lives of workers for a number of reasons. Some of them are:

- The nature of the disease itself. Cancer has a long latency period and may take 10 to 30 years to develop—and no one knows what triggers the disease in the first place. As Dr. William Blot, a biostatistician with the National Cancer Institute, put it, "There may not be just a single cause of cancer, although we believe it is triggered by environmental factors."

- "Maybe there's something about each of us, a genetic predisposition that causes cancer when triggered by an environmental stimulus—but we don't know what the mechanism is or how it works. Some people smoke cigarettes for years and never get cancer, while others do."

- Not knowing the cause of the disease also makes it hard to predict safe levels of exposure to substances capable of producing cancer in industry or elsewhere.

- The results of animal testing were often ignored in the past because of a refusal to accept cancerous results as applicable to human beings. But now that we are developing the same cancers 20 and 30 years later, even outspoken critics of animal testing are losing this particular conceit.

►OSHA not funded enough.

- OSHA has never received the kind of funding needed to do the extensive jobs of inspection, testing and research that occupationally linked diseases require.

OSHA and its research arm, NIOSH, are theoretically responsible for the health and safety of an estimated 62 million workers employed throughout 5 million facilities. Yet OSHA's budget only allows it a work force of 1,500 inspectors and only 400 of them have the scientific training needed to test chemical and other substances capable of causing cancer and numerous other work-related ailments.

Despite this, OSHA made more than 151,000 inspections and issued 117,000 citations during 1975 and the first 9 months of 1976. Unfortunately, because of the lack of technically trained inspectors, many of the citations were for mechanical hazards—such as lack of guard rails, protective clothing, etc. Also, serious violations usually merited fines of only \$600.

►OSHA has to be pushed.

Granting that many of OSHA's problems are not exclusively the fault of the agency, it has not aggressively fought for what it needs or sought stringent controls over industry. Most standards handed down by OSHA have been the result of suits filed and pressures applied by various labor unions.

- But the most basic aspect of occupational cancer is the attitude in both government and industry, which assumes a substance is innocuous until proven otherwise—that is until people are maimed or start dropping dead. It is, after all, more profitable to do the testing on the workers themselves.

Part IV

Put crime on social change agenda

By Elliot Currie

During a recent crime wave in south Berkeley, people on one especially hard-hit street organized a block party to help bring neighbors together to do something about crime. Friends of mine went to the party, had a good time, and went home feeling good about the level of community involvement they'd seen—only to find their house robbed. The story says something about the frustrations felt by people on the left in trying to deal with crime.

What can the left do about crime? The question hasn't been easy to answer, mainly because we have so few usable models as guides to action.

Because high crime rates are so deeply related to fundamental distortions and inadequacies of advanced capitalism in the United States, it's clear that a response to crime that is both effective and humane can be achieved only in the context of a transformation of the social order as a whole. In a society that pits people against each other in a competitive struggle over artificially scarce resources, that condemns millions to wrenching poverty while raising expectations that it can't fulfill and that encourages predatory and exploitative relations in all areas of social and personal life, no amount of tinkering with the institutions of justice, however well intended, will have much effect on crime.

All the evidence we have—carefully played down by most crime theorists in the U.S.—tells us that socialist societies have dramatically less serious crime, particularly violent crime, than we do. But though this points to the long-range solution to crime, it offers very little to people afraid of crime in our society. Pointing to China's apparent success in nearly eliminating serious street crime is inspiring—but it can't reassure Americans worrying about getting mugged tonight.

►Short range programs needed.

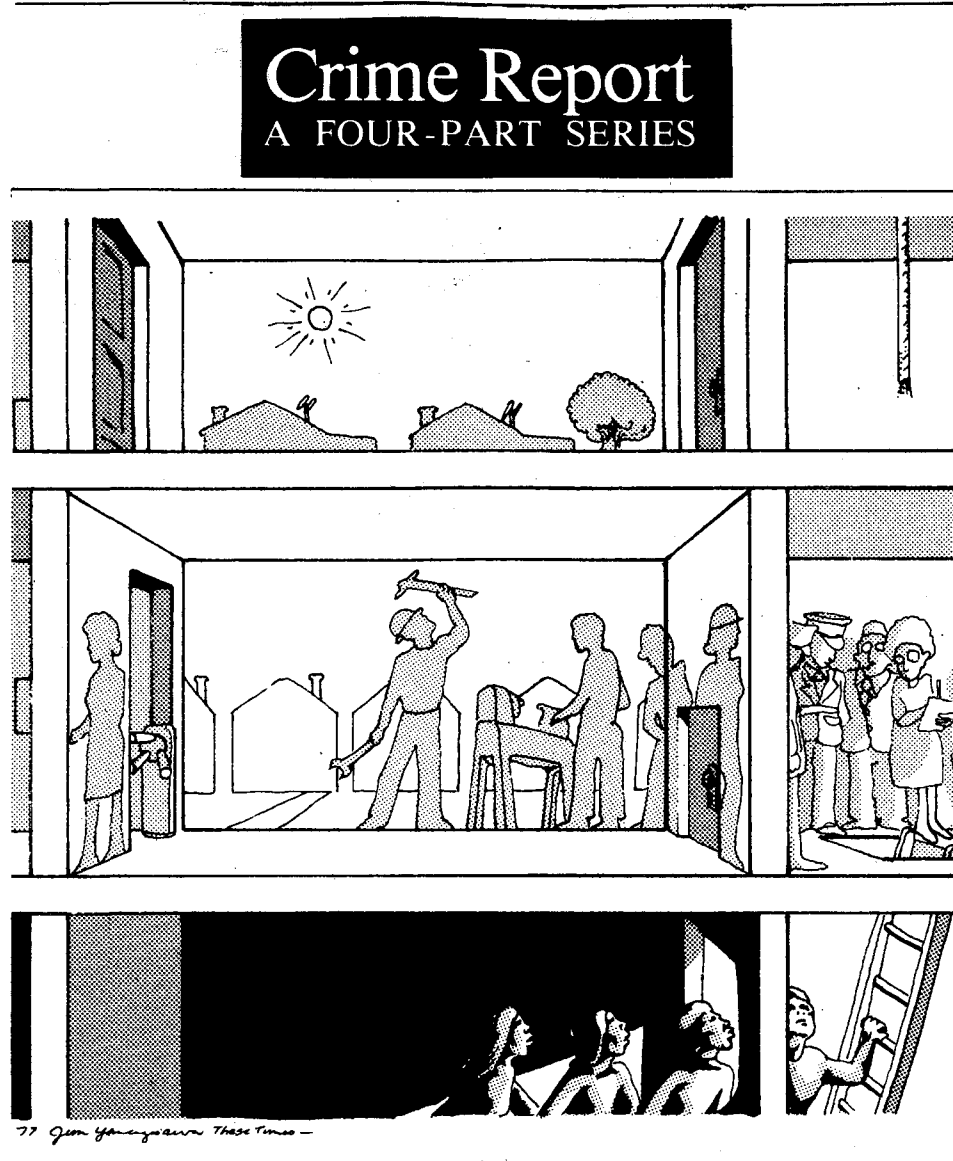
What's needed are shorter-range programs that hold the promise of reducing the danger of crime while promoting democratic values. These have been hard to define, but there are stirrings of some promising approaches, born out of the movements for social change in the 1960s and '70s.

The experience of the Third World, student, and anti-war movements with the police, courts, and prisons in the '60s brought a wave of popular resistance to the abuses of criminal justice in the U.S. That resistance produced some significant accomplishments. In the prisons, it brought more humane conditions, grievance procedures, and support services for inmates and checked some of the most abusive forms of behavior control. It sparked campaigns for community control and civilian review of the police. But it was directed, for the most part, against the worst features of the justice system—not at the problem of crime itself, which was largely ignored throughout the '60s.

More recently, the issue of street crime has been put on the agenda by a growing number of community organizations across the country, with demands for better police protection and a share of federal crime-control funds.

The most dramatic expression of this came last summer, when members of National People's Action, a coalition of community organizations, occupied the Washington offices of LEAA and refused to leave until officials had signed an agreement to hold public hearings in 10 cities on the use of LEAA funds.

Too often, though, community demands have simply called for more of the same kinds of measures that have proven ineffective in the past. In San Francisco's high-crime Visitacion Valley community last summer, the All People's Coalition waged a successful five-month campaign to force the San Francisco Board of Supervisors to grant the neighborhood a share of the city's federal crime-prevention funds. But what the coalition



Challenging the basic process and priorities of conventional means of crime control may make a difference, either in reducing crime or lessening its impact on its victims, or both.

got for its efforts was a package of programs—including funds for an "Operation Identification" property-engraving drive and an educational program run by the police department—both unlikely to make much difference.

►Challenging the priorities of crime control.

But challenging the basic processes and priorities of conventional means of crime-control may make a difference, either in reducing crime or lessening its impact on its victims, or both. In the past few years, a scattered movement along these lines has begun to emerge, usually following one of three different but related directions.

The first of these is an emphasis on political action and consciousness-raising as tools for dealing with street crime and drug addiction.

Pioneered during the '60s by groups like the Young Lords, the Mexican-American Youth Organization and the Black Panther party, these programs have often met with systematic harassment by the established criminal justice system. In Los Angeles, an anti-drug program run by La Casa de Carnalismo, a Chicano community center, encountered sustained disruption by local law enforcement, ending with the arrest and conviction of three activists—Los Tres del Barrio—on dubious charges of assaulting and robbing an undercover federal narcotics agent.

But in spite of official hostility and minimal funds, some community-controlled anti-crime programs have scored real successes in turning energies away from street crime and self-destruction toward community organization and political awareness. Pressure to divert funds from the law-enforcement apparatus to progressive community groups for these programs is a promising avenue for the left.

►Addressing the needs of victims.

A second movement focuses on develop-

ing programs addressed to the special need of groups, like women and the elderly, whose victimization by street crime has been mainly ignored or even aggravated by the criminal justice system.

Here the main thrust has come from the women's movement. A LEAA-funded study recently counted at least 136 community anti-rape projects across the country, 17 of them in California. These have provided services ranging from counselling and support for rape victims and lobbying for change in rape legislation and court procedures to creating escort services and engaging in public political education about the social and political roots of rape.

Though it's hard to measure the impact of these efforts on the actual incidence of rape, it's clear that they have forced changes in ways the criminal justice system deals with it and have provided needed aid for its victims. Partly because of these programs, rape—traditionally the least often reported of violent crimes—is much more likely to be reported today and to receive serious attention by law-enforcement agencies.

More recently, pressure from the women's movement has forced the hidden issue of battered women into the light, demanding better police response and funds to develop support services for beaten women. This year in Oakland women brought a class action suit against the police department and city council charging failure to provide equal protection of the law for battered women and calling for the city council to provide funding for a shelter for women facing violence in their homes.

Escort services for the elderly, developed by the Black Panther party and other community groups in several cities, are another expression of the same impulse.

Demands for shifting swollen local law-enforcement budgets toward these services, and away from useless and intimidating technological and paramilitary gad-

getry, can become an important focus for progressive organizing against crime in the coming years.

►Building other programs.

A third emerging movement aims at directing resources away from a hostile and ineffective criminal justice system altogether, shifting them to job-creation and other basic social services. Increasingly, prison-reform groups like the American Friends Service Committee have begun to link their concern with what happens inside the penal system with the broader issues of what goes on outside it.

There is growing recognition that achieving real change in the jails and prisons requires confronting the deeper injustices that generate crime in the first place. The Washington-based National Moratorium on Prison Construction (NMPC), a joint project of the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee and the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, has organized citizens' coalitions across the country to fight the growing state and federal push toward construction of new prisons and jails. Part of NMPC's program is a demand for increased use of alternatives to prison, including community-based corrections and elimination of pre-trial detention for most offenders.

But NMPC puts these programmatic alternatives in a much broader framework, calling for "a major redistribution of wealth and power which would make much of all punishment unnecessary." In NMPC's view, the search for alternatives to prison must "include new economic and political realities." "Real economic and political democracy," writes NMPC coordinator S. Brian Willson, "is necessary rather than the political oligarchy and economic oligopoly we struggle with now."

Last summer, the coalition's New York branch sponsored a march with the theme "Abolish Attica, Create Jobs." Citizens pressure stopped construction of a federal youth prison in San Diego and a maximum-security juvenile facility in Maryland in 1975.

Even more importantly, these campaigns have increasingly forced public attention to the advantages of drawing resources away from institutions that have proven useless, or worse, in dealing with crime to social programs offering a real chance of attacking street crime at its roots.

►Job creation.

There's little question that directing some of the \$15 billion criminal justice budget toward job creation could have a significant and immediate impact on street crime. Today, even conservative crime theorists generally acknowledge the close relation between crime and unemployment in the U.S.

But to be effective, and credible, that approach requires the integration of criminal justice reform efforts with a broader movement for full employment and democratic control of economic priorities.

Without that kind of movement the future holds some grim and frightening possibilities. There is every reason to expect that crime rates will continue to rise, despite recent moves toward tougher sentences and accelerated prison construction. Strategies like those haven't diminished crime in the past and won't in the future.

The danger is that rising crime and the failure of these harsh solutions may lead to popular acceptance of more drastic measures—like community screening of "violence-prone" individuals, the use of mind-altering drugs and surgery, electronic monitoring of ex-offenders—that promise a level of surveillance and control beyond anything we've known before.

Elliot Currie has taught criminology at the University of California at Berkeley and at Yale University, and is a member of the East Bay chapter of the New American Movement.



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PTA launches national campaign to reduce violence on TV

By Jim Rinnert

An American child growing up with TV is taking an extended course in crime and violence. By the age 14 the average child has witnessed 11,000 murders and thousands more muggings, rapes, robberies, kidnappings and beatings not resulting in death.

And according to Carol Kimmel, president of the National Parent-Teachers Association (PTA), "there is a causal relationship between violence on TV and aggressive, violent behavior among children." Kimmel is not the first to say so—but she is the first to bring the muscle of a 6.6 million member grass-roots organization with her in a year-long campaign to fight excessive crime and violence on TV.

With a public hearing on Jan. 25 at the Sheraton Hotel in Chicago the PTA is midway through a four-phase program aimed at shrinking the amount of time and the number of TV shows programming acts of violence and crime. The Chicago hearing is the fourth in a series of regional hearings in eight major cities on the potential effects of video violence on youngsters and the need for better quality and more diversity in TV programming.

At the first hearing in Pittsburgh Kimmel pointed out that "recent polls by the Opinion Research Corporation of Princeton show that 71 percent of the public already think that TV programs are too violent for adults." She added that when she confronted network executives they told her the vacuum created by removing violence from TV would have to be filled by sex.

The desensitization of children to the human suffering that results from violence is another point of focus for the hearings, said a PTA official in their Chicago head-



By the age 14 the average child has witnessed 11,000 murders and thousands more muggings, rapes, robberies and beatings not resulting in death.

quarters. "Exposed to a steady barrage of TV violence [a child's] ability to distinguish between real and imaginary hostility can become impaired, so that real violence fails to arouse compassion or disgust."

Allegheny County (Pa.) juvenile court judge Patrick Tamilia, testifying at the Pittsburgh hearing, talked about young offenders who have been so desensitized that they lack the sentiment of remorse for their crimes. Tamilia also testified that he had seen evidence to suggest that TV teaches young people how to commit crimes.

Peggy Chareen, president of Action for Children's Television (ACT) points out that by the time many children graduate from high school they will have spent 15,000 hours in front of the TV as compared to only 11,000 hours in the class

room (See *In These Times*, Dec. 13, 1976). The PTA argues that the education that is taking place during these TV hours must be more directly faced. "I have come to believe," says Manya Ungar, a local PTA vice-president from Scotch Plains, N.H., "that illustrating in minute detail how to shoplift, how to break in, how to murder gives the older child a blueprint."

The Chicago hearing follows previous hearings in Kansas City, Atlanta and Pittsburgh. Opinions are being sought from the general public, as well as school administrators, law enforcers, professionals in mental health and social services, and any interested persons—including children. Testimony will be directed to a 10-member PTA commission. Future hearings are scheduled for Dallas, Feb. 1; Portland, Feb. 8; Hartford, Feb. 15; and Los Angeles, Feb. 22.

A final report will be compiled, based on the testimony gathered in the eight hearings. After the hearings are completed the project will launch an action plan involving PTA members in 32,000 local units to monitor TV programs and contact local stations and sponsors. The PTA's Washington arm will also present the findings and violence-reducing demands to Congress and the FCC.

"Through this project," Kimmel says, "We're hoping to increase parents' awareness of the negative effects of TV violence on children, urge them to take more responsibility for supervising their youngster's TV viewing, and motivate them to make their views known to the appropriate individuals and organizations. But that's only part of the picture. We also feel the networks, local stations and advertisers should respond to public opinion and the public interest by aggressively and voluntarily pursuing ways to reduce TV violence."

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ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

FILMS

THE LAST TYCOON

Screenplay by Harold Pinter; directed by Elia Kazan; produced by Sam Spiegel
Released by Paramount Pictures, Rated PG

Narcissus had nothing on Hollywood. It has never tired of looking at itself in the mirror of the silver screen. That the rest of the world does not take Hollywood history or mores as portentously serious subject matter has been a source of never-ending amazement to *The Industry*.

The Last Tycoon is a case in point.

Based on an unfinished novel by F. Scott Fitzgerald and the life of the man Fitzgerald used as a model, the film takes liberties with both sets of antecedents. It may not satisfy Fitzgerald fans, or biographers of Irving Thalberg. But it takes Hollywood of the late 20s and early 30s seriously and projects a milieu in which you really believe: the Hollywood of big sparkly productions, palatial residences, temperamental stars, and smooth, venal boards of directors; Hollywood when it was still in the hands of the showmen, the powerful personalities, the killer-wheeler-dealers who controlled the tears and laughter of the 80 to 90 million Americans who paid their two-bits or half-dollars to enter the movie palaces once a week; Hollywood before the eastern banking interests took over.

The film opens with an im-

mense close-up of a couple kissing. The film is black and white. You are rooted in time. Monroe Stahr (Irving Thalberg) is in a screening room, editing a production in progress, absolutely certain of everything he does and that it will translate into glorious box-office dollars.

Harold Pinter's script treats the character of the young production wizard with dignified introspection, and Robert de

Niro's performance attains a sense of reality that is enthralling. De Niro is not acting; he is Monroe Stahr: a silky imperial figure who surrounds himself with respectful and terrified kowtowers. He is as one-directional as a laser beam, focused on making motion pictures. There are no unions, no boards to appeal from his decisions. Everything he does comes out right. The Studio is his oyster; he swallows it and smiles.

But fate is already in the outer office. Spear-headed by Pat Brady (Robert Mitchum), the bankers are moving in for the kill. A writers' union is organizing. And Stahr has become hopelessly infatuated with a beautiful and mysterious British girl who does not return his affection.

The love story becomes central in the later sequences. Stahr turns out to be as helpless in love as

he is powerful in his work. There is a scene where he takes the girl out to see his unfinished house by the sea, and the stick-skeleton of the mansion stands as a symbol of his inner life—a grand plan only lightly sketched in.

The supporting actors are all first-rate. Jack Nicholson steps outside his usual self as a writers' union organizer. Jeanne Moreau and Tony Curtis play aging movie stars with affection and humor. Robert Mitchum as Pat Brady is tough and jaded. Brady's daughter is convincingly played by a new actress, Theresa Russell. (In Fitzgerald's novel she was the narrator; here she is part of the action.)

Ingrid Boulting as the girl Stahr loves is more a somnambulist than an actress. Fortunately dialogue is sparse in *The Last Tycoon*. A lot is said with the eyes.

The visual period details are deliberately played down. The cars are right, but the costumes are comfortable adaptations of the times, and the settings only casually suggest art deco. Director Elia Kazan was delving for a more "internal" sense of the period, and he achieves it.

Very low key and deliberately paced, *The Last Tycoon* emerges as a quiet, "thoughtful" film.

—Mavis Lyons

Mavis Lyons is a film editor working in New York and *In These Times*' regular reviewer.

De Niro does it again

TELEVISION

Requiem for Mary Richards

The *Mary Tyler Moore Show*, one of television's longest running, most popular series, is coming to the end of its final season and I, for one, am going to miss it. I've grown very fond of the cozy little crew in the newsroom at WJM in Minneapolis. But mostly, I've grown fond of the heroine herself who, when the series first began, was probably the most progressive model of womanhood on TV. In the wake of such scatter-brained incompetents as Lucille Ball and—for those who go back that far—Imogen Coca, Mary Richards was a model of intelligence and self-respect.

First, she had a serious and responsible job as a producer of a news program—not a daytime talk show or soap opera—but the news. She handled herself in a dignified and principled way most of the time. On one occasion she went to jail rather than reveal a news source. On another, she quit her job when refused a raise she felt she deserved. "If they think you're scared of losing your job, they own you," she said.

Equally interesting was Mary's private life. She was portrayed as an "over-30" career woman whose life was fulfilling in spite of the fact that men played almost no part in it. There were occasional suitors and romances, of course. But they all ended quickly, leaving Mary dry-eyed and contented with her life, which revolved around her job and friends.

To that extent, it's safe to say that the show was at least par-

tially a product and reflection of ideas made popular by the woman's movement. But there were also a lot of problems with her character—as a woman and a worker. It's probably a healthy sign that the show has seemed more dated and out of touch with reality each year.

For one thing, in portraying Mary as an independent career woman, the producers seemed to feel obligated to make her not only sexless, but downright prudish. She still blushes at the mention of sex and projects an image of a woman who "does without," neither a realistic nor desirable lifestyle for most of us. Then, too, there's a whole lot of sexism in her relationships at work. What are we to make of the fact that her boss still calls her "Mary" while she calls him "Mr. Grant"? A bit backward, I'd say. And then there's the workplace itself. WJM is a snug little "family" of professionals, in which problems are worked out in purely personal, as opposed to political ways and distinctions between bosses and workers don't exist.

In short, although there's much about the realities of the average working woman's life that is nearly avoided in the *Mary Tyler Moore Show*, it's been a funny, usually intelligent show about a woman who is rarely an embarrassment, and often a credit to her sex.

However, the times they are a'changing—even on TV—and the complexities of life in the '70s have pushed the networks beyond the neat, antiseptic life of a Mary Richards. Audiences are turning

more and more to shows that treat the real problems—personal and economic—of the average woman: one who increasingly works at a less than ideal job because she has to, who has real and often painful sexual relationships, and, often as not, family responsibilities.

Phyllis and *Rhoda*, spin-offs of *MTM*, have been dealing with divorce, single parenthood and the problem of job-hunting for women who lack skills and experience. Other new shows, like *Alice* and *One Day at a Time* deal even more seriously with the problems of working women who are also single parents.

None of these shows has much in the way of class or feminist consciousness, but they do point to a trend in TV programming: the networks sense that audiences want to see shows about women with whom they can identify; women with the same problems they have about money, men and children.

And so, while I'm sorry to see Mary Tyler Moore go, I'm encouraged by the kind of women that seem to be replacing her. Wouldn't it be nice, after all, if the next few years saw the development of some real flesh and blood TV heroines who weren't middle-class housewives or middle-class professionals? And wouldn't it be even nicer if it happened because the American public demanded it?

I think that's what's happening and I hope I'm right.

Elayne Rapping teaches English in Pittsburgh and wrote regularly for the *New American Movement*.

Big Blue marble,

I think it's for anyone, BECAUSE it shows people what others are doing around the world and how people feel, and another reason is, you can get a pen pal watching that show and you can watch different dances and they have a review, if children ruled the world, which is pretty good. Only I wish they would have more recipes to tell the only one I've seen is pizza. I've been watching the show for two years, and I hope lots of other people around the world enjoy it too.

By Esme Raji Codell
age: 8

Esme Raji Codell intends to be a sports writer.

"The Big Blue Marble" is a children's program aired by PBS on Saturday mornings (see *In These Times*, Dec. 13, 1976).

BOOKS

Unlimited options
prove limiting
for grads of '65

WHAT REALLY HAPPENED TO THE CLASS
OF '65?
By Michael Medved and David Wallechinsky
Random House, N.Y., \$10

Time devoted one of its 1965 cover stories to the class that was graduating from Palisades High School in suburban Los Angeles. Affluent and sophisticated, with an almost infinite number of options open to them, they seemed to be standing on the threshold of a Golden Era.

But it didn't work out like that. Two members of the class, Michael Medved and David Wallechinsky, decided to chronicle the 10 years that followed in the lives of 30 of their classmates—a representative cross-section not only of the student body, but also of the stratum of society it represents. What they learned is the material of *What Really Happened to the Class of '65?*: a disturbing account of dislocation, alienation, suicide, and severe crises—of personal relationships, of jobs and life-styles, and above all, of identity.

There are a few conventional "success stories" among the 30: a millionaire, a CPA, an architect, and so on. But most of the graduates achieved some sort of stability only after years of floundering—changing jobs, friends, schools and living places. Some dropped out and stayed out, living on remote rural farms where they do more talking to plants than to people. Many turned to Hari Krishna, Scientology, Baba Ram Das, and Jesus Christ.

Medved and Wallechinsky talked about their own reactions to what they learned in an interview with *In These Times*.

Wallechinsky: "I was quite surprised by the number of people who never would have mentioned Vietnam and the draft if we hadn't brought it up." But once the subject was raised, "they always placed great importance on how they avoided being shipped to the jungles of South-

east Asia. Beating the draft was a major part of their lives."

The difference between the experience of these Pali grads and men from minority and working class background substantiates what the movement was saying at the time: that those with the bucks and the background weren't doing the fighting and dying. Only one man from Pali '65 went to Vietnam, and he came back alive.

Medved feels that for many the rejection of mainstream society began with the assassination of John Kennedy.

Wallechinsky: "It was a turning point in my development ... like a loss of innocence."

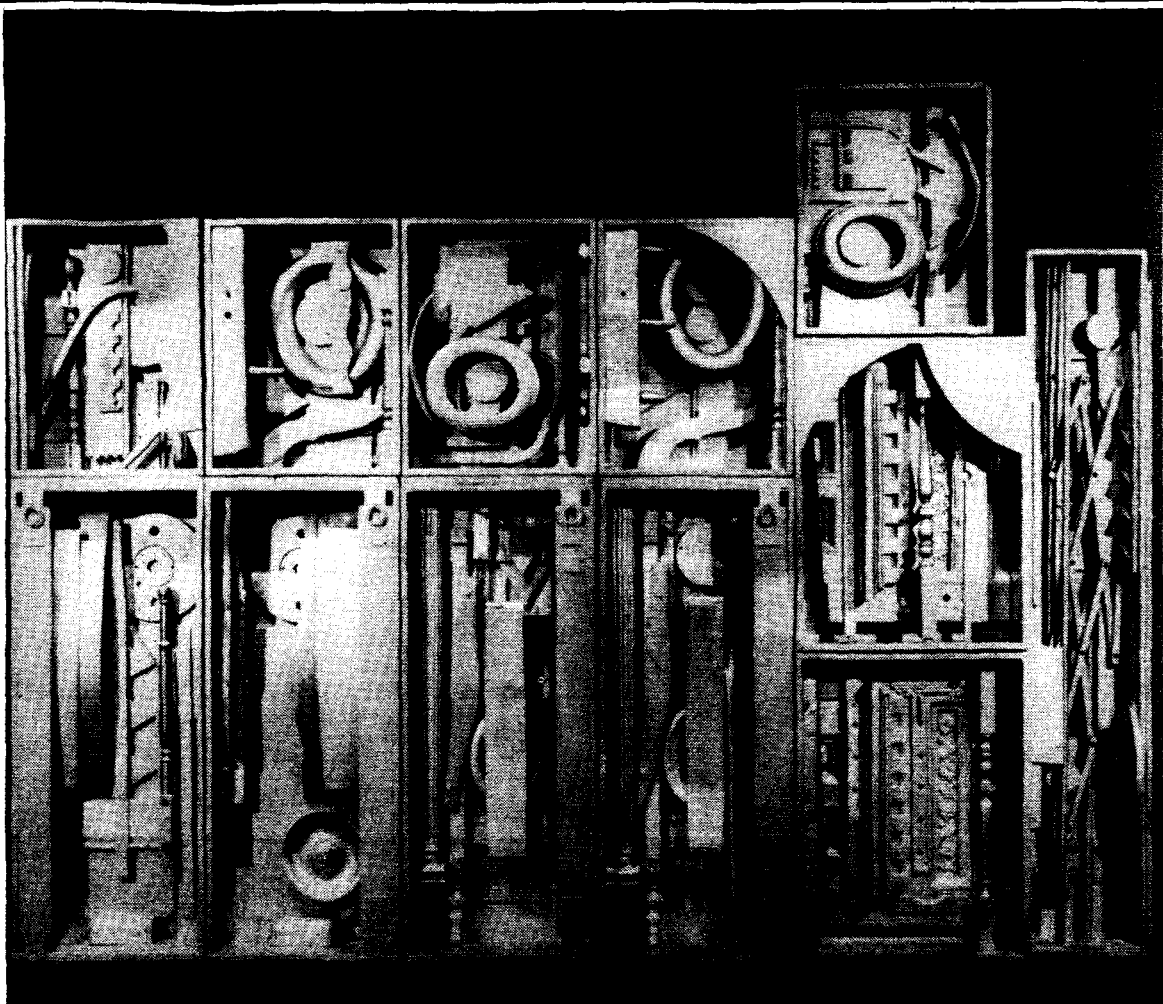
Medved: "The problem was that most found nothing to replace it with. They were left in a cultural vacuum." The movement was not able to fill this vacuum because its radical view of life was so apocalyptic, so unrelated to the day-to-day problems these people were facing.

The problems were almost the reverse of those faced by their contemporaries from other parts of American society. "When your options in life are unlimited, it's much more difficult to choose," Medved said. Their potential ability to succeed (in their parents' terms) became a burden, particularly since the '60s had alienated many of them from their parents' values. "There were very few who wanted a life just like their parents."

To graduates of high schools like Pali, *What Really Happened* will have a nostalgic impact. It is an accurate description of that scene wherever it exists. To readers whose experience is different, the book is a view of how the upper half lived during the '60s and early '70s.

—Dennis Levitt

Dennis Levitt is an editor for KFWB, Los Angeles, a member of the Southern California Journalists Alliance, and a graduate of Beverly Hills High, class of 1966.



Royal Tide II, painted wood, 126 1/2" x 94 1/2", by LN, 1961-63. Whitney Museum of American Art

ART

Louise Nevelson talks
about her life and art

DAWNS AND DUSKS
Taped conversations with Louise Nevelson
Charles Scribner's Sons, N.Y., \$12.95

Louise Nevelson is one of the few women artists in history to achieve great success, one of a handful of women sculptors. She has seen her work shown all over the world. Her huge metal constructions are welded firmly to the ground at M.I.T. and in the center strip of Park Avenue. And her wood sculpture moved cubism into the third dimension.

Whatever one may think of her art, there's no question the woman can talk clearly and colorfully. In this short book (copiously illustrated with photographs of her work) she talks about the entire scope of her life.

"I knew I needed to claim my total life.... I don't think I real-

ized the price that would be demanded for what I wanted. I've been so lonely for long periods of my life that if a rat walked in, I would have welcomed it.... No more marriages for me ... I wouldn't marry God if he asked me...."

For the women's movement, Nevelson indicates strong, if non-specific support. "I also think we haven't yet—I haven't anyway—solved the relationship ... the battle of the sexes.... I think that is what the women are really trying to do, to solve that problem. Not to solve it, but to get closer to understanding it. Because even when men have been good to women, well, we're good to our animals too."

In her life, Nevelson has known and loved a lot of men as

well as women, but she let none of them get in her way.

The Nevelson family came to Maine from Russia when Louise was four. "This was such a WASP country ... and they needed foreigners like I need ten holes in my head." Her parents have been a source of strength all through her career, especially her mother, who—when Louise's marriage was crumbling—offered to take care of her son. "You always wanted to continue in your art. You go and study."

Her mother, says Nevelson, never adjusted to Maine or to marriage, which may have fed her ability to give what Adrienne Rich (in *Of Woman Born*) calls a rare gift: unmitigated support by a mother for a daughter's pursuit of identity.

—Jane Melnick

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MUSIC

Where have all the folk songs gone?

By Steve Chapple

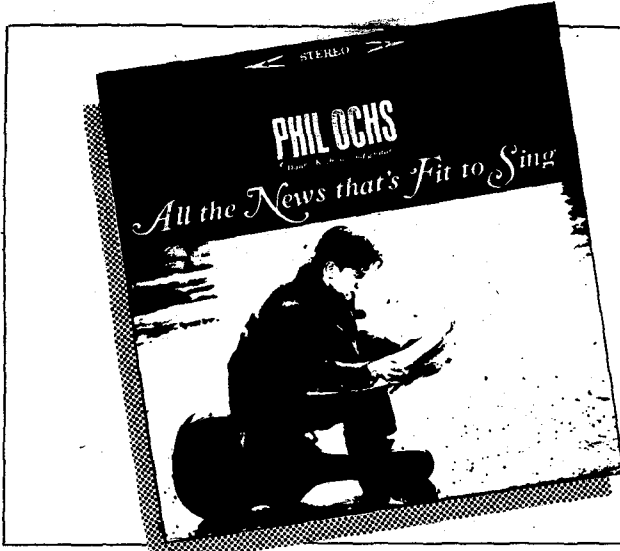
In the fifties, after The Weavers and the writer of "Buddy, Can You Spare a Dime" had been ludicrously and so very seriously silenced by old Joe McCarthy (a Senator it is hard to imagine snapping his fingers for anything stronger than Stephen Foster) popular music sailed along a sea of schmaltz as exciting as bathwater: "Doggie in the Window," "Young at Heart," "Whatever Will Be, Will Be."

Rock 'n' roll crashed the front door musically, but it was not until 1965 that a wondrous one-time classic called "Eve of Destruction" returned some semblance of political lyrics to big-time airwaves.

"Think of all the hate there is in Red China/ Then think of Selma, Al-a-bam-a!" sang Barry McGuire with a voice as rough as a gravel road behind a beat low and strange like oil drums banging in the bay. Politically ambiguous, but political nonetheless.

Lou Adler, the laidback producer of "Destruction," later the producer of Carol King and Cheech and Chong, never thought the song would be played by the major radio stations. Only Adler's business partner at the time, Jay Lasker, felt the record could be a hit. He predicted the sound of the single would break it through the thawing political ice of a music industry leaving Patti Page and Joe McCarthy behind.

The big RKO General radio chain still blips out sexually offensive words from songs like "Pillow Talk" and dreads drug ambiguities like "One Toke Over



What happens to the good people? Well, some of them like Phil Ochs don't make it...

the Line." Stodgy old RCA has mixed down a motherfucker or two from their Jefferson Airplane tapes and once took out a scatological reference to the Virgin Mary. But for white male singers at least, "Eve of Destruction" marked the end of McCarthyite censorship at most radio stations and record companies. With high-selling artists like the Beatles, the Stones, and Dylan, too much money was at stake. Even the harassment by Nixon's FCC crony Dean Burch of small radical stations for playing "drug lyrics" has dwindled off in an era of total soft-drug penetration.

Then why is music with political content no longer played even as much as it was in the '60s and early '70s?

First, most folk music, political or not, must be dismissed with a tilt of the Fender Bass. Except for nostalgic leftists searching for Huddie Ledbetter's cotton field, nobody, least of all

young working people, listens to folk music unless it borders on softrock like Joni Mitchell or new country & western like Waylon Jennings. Folk music is commercially, not politically censored.

Half of the real explanation is that the mass political movements of those years have not been duplicated. Artists are no longer pushed by activist friends and confronted, as David Crosby was when he wrote "Ohio," by media images too bloodied by living color to ignore.

But the rest of the reason is more subtle, and more important in the long run for understanding mass culture in Sweet Home America.

Although some artists care more about success than they do for their music ("I have American ideals," says Alice Cooper. "I love money."), many who put their lives into their lyrics still cannot develop a radical music. Discounting bubblegum like the

Osmonds, the better their music becomes, the more it sells. The more it sells, the richer the artist becomes—and the more isolated he gets from a political background or working class roots.

About 40 rock 'n' soul superstars make more than a million dollars each year. Several hundred, nearly everyone with any cultural impact, make \$50,000 or more. Money alone does not turn a good ole boy bad, but it quickly puts him closer to the cocaine spoon than the housing project window where Carly Perkins wrote "Blue Suede Shoes." The rock industry is big now. Successful musicians naturally hang out with mellow producers like Adler, superhip dj's, good-time promotion men ten years away from the Stones' "Under Assistant West Coast Promo Man," and other musicians who find themselves in the same rather bizarre position. Constantly on tour, few musicians have

the political discipline even to develop a geographical base.

And of course even the best-intentioned musician in America is still after all only a commodity in a commodity culture, although a spectacular one. CBS, Warner-Electra-Asylum-Atlantic, Motown, every major record company condenses its groups to a few abbreviated selling points consistently pushed in 60-second spots, print ads, and cover pictures. Even the choice of band that a group tours with conforms to the image set by manager and record company. The act is packaged and no amount of artistic autonomy can free most groups from the gentle spider's web spun out by the home office: plateau sales, break-out hits, and, please, two albums a year.

What happens to the good people? Well, some of the nicest like Phil Ochs don't make it.

The old boys like Perkins reach for the bottle or turn to junk and fade away, while the new ones like Lynyrd Skynyrd seem to rudeboy it through with middle fingers straight up to the past. The John Lennons wait on neurotically, their genius beached on backwater times.

And a few, like Gil Scott-Heron or the Persuasions somehow manage to build their ties with community groups, audiences, and organizers, and keep a shrewd stiff hand to the record companies lest they, in selling their records, sell them too.

Steve Chapple is co-author of *Rock 'n' Roll is Here to Pay: the History and Politics of the Music Industry*, to be published this spring by Nelson-Hall.

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IN THESE TIMES OPINION

Robert B. Carson

Carter's little labor pills

Jimmy Carter's long awaited plan "to put Americans back to work" has been announced, and the artful dodger has done it again. After weeks of waiting for the Carter cure, we find the remedy is the same old medicine—only in smaller doses.

Organized labor and urban black and white leaders were quick to condemn Carter's two-year \$30 billion program as being too puny to have any effect upon unemployment. Pressure on Congress or Carter may cause some upward revisions; but Carter, the FDR buff, may want to hold something back until the right crisis situation demands stronger action.

As expected, the "Keynesian Connection" was apparent in the Carter program—a one-time \$7 to \$11 billion tax rebate on 1976 taxes, \$4 billion in permanent individual tax reduction and a \$2 billion tax credit for businesses. To be sure this will cause some economic stimulation for middle class buying and modest business investment but, as we pointed out in our last column, it will not create many jobs.

►The jobs package: not much.

The biggest surprise in the Carter program was the jobs package. Some labor spokesmen had hoped for as much as \$25 billion. They got \$4 billion in public works and between \$5 and \$8 billion in public service or publicly subsidized employment—and this to be spread over two years. With the confidence possible only from spending too much time in academic economics, Charles Schultze, chairman of Carter's Council of Economic Advisers, said that these programs would create up to 800,000 jobs and lower unemployment by 1.5 percent this year.

Is Schultze's prediction realistic? Not by my arithmetic.

The \$4 billion public works program, even accepting the Department of Labor's optimistic calculation of the jobs-effect of such spending, cannot create more than 200,000 jobs. The Department of Labor estimates that about 50,000 jobs are created for each \$1 billion spent—half at the job site and half in the industries supplying and serving the construction. This is plainly an overstatement. The on-site figure may be reasonable, but the employment impact on other industries is far out of line. With steel, cement, and other construction materials firms now working with considerable under-employment and unused capacity, a \$4 billion public works program, spent over two years, may have no effect at all on jobs in the supplying industries. All in all, the public works spending, spread across two years, will probably add no more than 75,000 jobs; unless we are supposed to count the same people twice, one in 1977 and once again in 1978.

While the distribution of direct employment monies between public service jobs and subsidized private sector on-the-job-training employment is unclear, we can make some estimates. In the past, these jobs have cost on the average \$9,000 each to create (in fact under the current Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), \$10,000 is the maximum wage possible). The \$5 billion to \$8 billion earmarked for direct employment over the next two years thus indicates a job gain of between 280,000 to 440,000 per year.

The combined public works and direct employment spending would therefore mean a gain of between 355,000 and 512,000 this year. That is a long way from Schultze's 800,000. It does not even equal the net new entrants into the labor force

expected for the year. At best, if everything doesn't get worse, it will only lower official unemployment (if the jobs don't go to the "unofficially" unemployed) by about half of one percent.

►Would more make much difference?

If the Carter program had been larger would it have altered the unemployment picture very much?

Unemployment is past the point of being eradicable through public jobs. With official national unemployment of over 8 million and with a true unemployment level of 14-16 million, the costs of full employment in terms of federal deficits (and later inflation) would be staggering. Public Works costs per job run at an unbearable \$30,000, and CETA's near poverty level \$9,000 average is still almost unapproachable within realistic fiscal limits.

However, even beyond the question of

the spending magnitudes needed to put a dent in unemployment, there are other dangers in believing that we can get ourselves out of recession via FDR's WPA and PWA jobs programs.

In the case of Public Works Employment, there would be few if any gains made by the hard-core unemployed, even if spending were greater. With ordinary construction industry unemployment high and getting higher, few of the hard-core would be reached by such spending. On the other hand, Public Service employment will create new jobs, but it also tends to destroy old ones.

Given the fiscal pinch of most cities and states, and their massive payrolls (15 percent of all U.S. workers) the infusion of federal monies to create local public service jobs will be welcomed as a great boon, a chance to reduce local government payrolls or payroll costs by picking up federally funded replacements. This has already been the case in New York City and elsewhere under the CETA program.

The effect then is not really to lower unemployment as much as it is to shift it, or at best to lower existing public sector wage scales. In the time proven tradition of American capitalism it sets one part of the working class (the local public employee) against another (the special federally-funded worker). It cannot help but further undercut the deteriorating political position of public unions, a benefit certainly not overlooked by corporate capital.

Similarly, subsidized jobs in the private

sector that pose under the guise of on-the-job training would benefit business much more than the unemployed. First, industry would receive a direct subsidy in the name of job creation; that lowers costs and raises profits. Second, "on-the-job" trainees would certainly bump private sector workers. Why should G.M. pay \$18,000 for a new or an old employee when it can get an OJT for half or less? Third, it would act as a sword hanging over the head of all private sector labor. Wage rates could be held down by the threat of hoards of previously unemployed OJT's just waiting for private sector employment under federal auspices. Again, the class-dividing effect of setting those without jobs against those with them should not be overlooked.

►No panaceas for unemployment.

The further elaboration of public sector employment, even if Carter does cave in to union and urban pressures, can probably reduce reported unemployment a bit. However, while more Americans will be working, they will be working at low wages. Their labor will be only a modest qualitative shift from their present unemployment. Capitalism's tendency toward chronic labor surpluses will remain.

We shall explore this tendency in our concluding article on the unemployment problem.

Robert Carson teaches economics at State University College, Oneonta, N.Y., and is the author of *Main Line to Oblivion: the Disintegration of New York Railroads in the 20th Century*.

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Letters

An open letter of protest

The following is an open letter and appeal that I urge you and your readers to support.

With great courage, 257 Czechoslovak citizens launched the manifesto "Charter 77" on the 1st of January this year. This Charter states the plain truth that democratic rights in Czechoslovakia exist only on paper, even though Czechoslovakia has ratified the Helsinki Declaration and the United Nations Convention on Human Rights. The manifesto gives renewed evidence that tens of thousands of people have been denied the right to work in their professions because they hold opinions of which the present government disapproves. It points out that children are being deprived of educational opportunities because of the views of their parents, and that artists are subject to censorship. The Charter has the support of Professor Jiri Hajek, Foreign Minister in the Dubcek administration, together with that of many other distinguished spokesmen of authentic Czechoslovak communism.

The grotesque situation in Czechoslovakia is a permanent reproach to socialists throughout Europe. It is impossible to defend the repressive actions of the present Czechoslovak government, which are aimed against the hopes of the Czechoslovak people, but which also constitute an attack upon the socialist ideal as it is understood throughout all Europe.

—Ken Coates
Nottingham, England

ACLU concerned with more than free speech

Editor:

Bill Ritter's fine article on racial violence in Camp Pendleton (*ITT*, Jan. 5) requires some clarification concerning the role of the American Civil Liberties Union. Ritter correctly reported that the ACLU was, in a sense, involved on both sides of the issue. We defended the Black marines and demanded an end to the Marine Corps racism that created the conditions for violence in Camp Pendleton. And on grounds of both due process and first amendment rights, we opposed Marine Corps transfers simply because of membership or belief rather than action.

But Michael Pancer, who is a volunteer attorney with the San Diego ACLU, not its head, did not accurately report the position of the ACLU when he said that the "primary purpose of the ACLU is not to attack racism." Nationally, and especially in California, the ACLU has recognized that the struggle against racism is perhaps the most important civil liberties struggle. The legal, legislative and community struggles that ACLU has participated in for voting rights, school desegregation, affirmative action, and a hundred and one other issues, proves that we are not neutral defenders of first amendment rights. We do defend first amendment rights for everyone, but we see no contradiction between that and our vigorous, consistent participation in the struggle to eradicate racism.

There are 275,000 members of the ACLU around the country. Obviously there are many different views in the organization. But I suggest that Pancer's opinion is held by only a small minority. Just as the ACLU has learned through bitter experience that there cannot be exceptions in the exercise of political liberty, so we have also learned that the

struggle for full equality cannot take second place on our agenda. ACLU affiliates throughout the country are among the leading activists on the two phases of the struggle for equality that are most important today: school desegregation and affirmative action.

—Marvin Schachter
Vice Chairperson
ACLU National Board

What did Marx think about Congress?

Editor:

Your recent editorials which envision polarization of "Congress as the potential people's branch versus the Executive as the corporate branch" involve faulty analysis as well as wishful thinking. Marxist theory of the capitalist state doesn't hold that the President is the servant of capitalist class interests but the Congress is incipiently socialist. The issue of the imperial President dominating the Congress for whatever historical and institutional reasons should not be confused with class antagonisms between labor and capital translated as contradictions between the respective branches of the State. Perhaps the latter will occur when we have a socialist majority in Congress but by then we will have elected our socialist President or civil war will break out and the whole question become moot.

—Gene Damm
Albany, N.Y.

Minor parties provide protest vehicle

Editor:

After getting good vibes from most of *In These Times* Jan. 5 issue, we were brought up short by the mini-editorial

on the last page, "The minor party vote." We do not feel that 215,000 left votes should be dismissed in this fashion. Or that any vote count proves bankruptcy or non-bankruptcy. Are the two major parties any less bankrupt politically because they got 50 million votes apiece?

Let the media play the numbers game. We respect those who took the trouble to register a protest against the system and we think *In These Times* should too.

Ruth and George Dear
Oak Park, Ill.

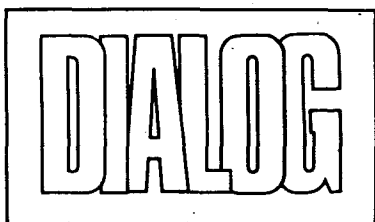
A future to live for

Editor:

It was good to see Carl Marzini's review of Hedrick Smith's *The Russians* in your Jan. 5 issue. If you manage to get significant contributions from members of the left who have served the vision of socialism in differing ways over the years, maybe there will be a future to live for after all. (Enclosed is my \$15 for a sub, by the way.)

But I must report that Marzini errs along with Hedrick Smith on the date for Stalin's fearful prediction of industrialize-or-else we are wiped out. The date was February 1931: it was a speech to industrial executives, and according to Isaac Deutscher's *Stalin: a Political Biography* it was in the same speech that Stalin extolled Russian nationalism for the first time. It is so hard and so necessary for the new left to deal honestly and non-polemically with the facts about Soviet history under Stalin. I provide this correction in the spirit of such understanding.

—Lee Lowenfish
New York



Socialism in Africa: all in the family?

In the letter by Barbara Stuckey, commenting on my review of Hatch's *Two African Statesmen* (*In These Times*, Nov. 22, 1976) there are serious allegations unsubstantiated by facts. If indeed Stuckey has new information that would convince us that Nyerere and Kaunda are masquerading as socialists, she should produce it, her travels notwithstanding.

Anyone who has studied African politics in any depth knows that Nyerere is the arch-priest of *Ujama* (familyhood), which he says "describes our socialism," i.e. African socialism. "It is opposed to capitalism, which seeks to build a happy state on the basis of exploitation.... Contemporary (African) socialism will grow out of the African communal past. Unlike European socialism, it is not a product of class conflict."

If Stuckey had read *Two African Statesmen* or Kaunda's book, *Zambia Must Be Free*, she would know enough about the background of Zambian economy to know what Kaunda inherited from the British. No one in the West accuses the U.S. of exploitation when it sells grain to the Soviet Union. But Westerners often seem to expect African leaders to dismantle "imperial capitalism" overnight. With regard to Kaunda's alleged (by Stuckey) record of imprisoning freedom fighters from Zimbabwe, from all other accounts his records seem to be exemplary. Kaunda practices what he preaches: African dem-

ocratic socialism, which he calls Humanism.

It would take much more well-documented charges to discredit these two leaders, who played vital roles in the liberation of Mozambique and Angola and will continue to play key roles in the liberation of Rhodesia and the rest of southern Africa.

—Chris C. Mojekwu
Lake Forest College
Lake Forest, Ill.

Chris C. Mojekwu, who reviewed Hatch's *Two African Statesmen* was from 1946 to 1966 Attorney General and Minister of Justice of the eastern region of Nigeria, and from 1967 to 1970, Commissioner (Minister) for Home Affairs and Local Government, and Co-ordinating Minister in Europe for the Republic of Biafra.

Coming up soon—

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A SINGLE MOTHER AND LIBERATED WOMAN.
IN CHARGE OF FACTORY CLEANLINESS,
SPECIFICALLY THE CAR WASH.

Staughton Lynd

The right to representation in union grievance procedure

The first act of victorious insurrections is often to hang all lawyers. This is understandable. Lawyers are justly suspect for usually siding with the rich and powerful and for complicating disputes that might be settled more easily without them.

Yet everyone wants a lawyer sometime. When there's a knock on your door and an FBI agent (rather, two FBI agents) asks to be admitted. Or when you're helping a friend push a car off the street, police cars screech to a stop and you are ordered up against the wall. And again, when you're part of a demonstration in a strange community and are suddenly arrested without your friends knowing where you are.

At such times the right to representation becomes critical. In *Miranda v. Arizona* the Supreme Court held that once a person has been taken into custody he or she need not say anything to the police until a lawyer is present. (This decision may soon be reversed by the Court.) In *Gideon v. Wainwright*, another decision of the 1960s, the court held that the right to counsel was a constitutional right that could not be denied because of poverty even in non-criminal cases.

The right to representation is just as important at work as in the larger society. This is especially so where discharge is involved. Discharge has been called the "capital punishment" of the workplace. It can also be compared to arrest. When a person is arrested on the outside the government must make a lawyer available. Similarly, when an employee is discharged it is critical to have access to a union rep-

resentative before leaving the workplace. If the union representative gets to the scene early the dispute may be resolved and serious discipline avoided. But even if discharge cannot be prevented the representative's presence makes it possible to interview witnesses on the spot, advise the person fired of his or her appeal rights, and otherwise increase the chances of getting the discipline reversed.

Two years ago, in a decision that paralleled the *Miranda* decision, the Supreme Court held in *NLRB v. Weingarten* that Section 7 of the National Labor Relations Act gives an employee a right to ask for union representation at any interview with management that can reasonably be expected to lead to discipline. (420 U.S. 251—that is, volume 420 of the U.S. Supreme Court reports, page 251.)

The case seems to be an example of the courts' reading into the National Labor Relations Act a right that derives from the United States Constitution. Section 7, on which the Supreme Court relied, protects only "concerted" activity. The right to representation is an individual right. Hence, as the dissenting Justices argued, it was implausible to read Section 7 to protect a single employee's right to have a union representative present at disciplinary discussions.

The majority of the Court explained *Weingarten* by saying that the grievance procedure itself was the product of concerted activity, and the right to individual representation was needed to make the grievance procedure effective. On this logic one could argue that many other in-

dividual rights are necessary to make concerted activity effective. What about the individual right to speak, which is not protected by Section 7? What about the right against illegal search and seizure, or to be innocent until proven guilty? No doubt the Court chose to protect the right to be represented, rather than the right to speak, for instance, because the right to be represented tends to channel protest activity into union-sponsored channels.

Weingarten offers an important resource. The key to using it effectively is not to wait too long before asking for a union representative to be present. The law does not require you to be sure that a conversation will lead to discipline. It only requires reasonable belief. If you wait until the supervisor gives you a direct order, the supervisor may be held to have rightly denied you union representation because your subordination created an emergency. As one arbitration decision puts it: "Acts of insubordination often require prompt and speedy action by a supervisor on the shop floor both to maintain proper morale and, even more importantly, to ensure uninterrupted production."

So, when in doubt, ask for a union representative to be present and stop talking.

In addition, the right to be represented should not be limited to the right to be represented by someone else. It should also mean the right for you personally to be present at every meeting where your grievance is discussed.

This is especially important because the union representative may try to drop your

grievance entirely. In *Vaca v. Sipes* and subsequent cases dealing with "unfair representation," the Supreme Court has held that dropping a grievance is not, in itself, unfair representation by the union. Your best chance of preventing your grievance from being dropped is if you are personally present every time management and the union discuss it.

Management will oppose this because the result is for two persons rather than one to be absent from production every time the grievance is discussed.

The union will oppose this because it wants the freedom to drop grievances. Full-time union officers often come to think that they know better than the workers what the rank and file needs. At the same time, they want to be reelected. They can accomplish both these objectives if, when a grievance is filed, they first go through the motions of vigorously pursuing it (this ensures reelection), and then drop the grievance when the grievant is not present (this can be blamed on the union staff man).

Accordingly, the right to be represented required by rank and file workers has two, equally essential elements. One part of it is the right to have a union representative present at all discussions that may lead to discipline. The other part is the right personally to be present at all discussions of a grievance after it is filed.

Staughton Lynd, a longtime civil rights and antiwar activist, practices law in Youngstown, Ohio. He and Alice Lynd edited *Rank and File, Personal Histories by Working-Class Organizers*. His column appears regularly.



Roberta Lynch

The failure of popular socialism: ITT misplaces the blame

The Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci once said that socialists should be guided by "pessimism of the intellect and optimism of the will." One of the most difficult things for American leftists to face in this direct manner has been the failure of a popular socialist movement to develop here.

In recent years two explanations for this have arisen. Each carries assumptions about the tasks for socialists today.

The first view is that in exchange for material security and privileged status over minorities in this country and people around the world, the overwhelming majority of white working people have become supporters of the status quo, and accede to its worst aspects rather than risk their positions.

In this view genuine change in the U.S. is almost entirely dependent on Third World revolutions that will limit the expansion of American profits abroad, forcing cutbacks in the standard of living here that will disrupt social stability. The tasks for the left become largely providing support for liberation struggles in other countries and racial minorities in the U.S.

The second explanation is that the problem lies almost entirely with socialists themselves. It sees left history as a long string of failures of nerve or deviations of line. The initial editorials of *In These Times* seem to be firmly in this camp. For *ITT* it is the left's unwillingness to have a primary focus on participating as socialists and as serious contenders in the electoral process that accounts for the absence of a mass socialist movement today. The primary emphasis is on spreading socialist ideas.

Both explanations offer important insights, but each is one-sided. And both, in fact, lead to one similar, and I believe mistaken, practical conclusion—the need of socialists on the impor-

ance of building the organization, unity, and consciousness of the working class movement.

The first position is essentially a left version of the popular wisdom—"There won't be a revolution in this country because the majority of the people are too well-off." This is sometimes linked to the notion that the U.S. has too much of the semblance of an open society to inspire revolt. Moreover, conservative attitudes of white workers, particularly racism, are seen as deeply ingrained and a barrier to progressive activity.

There is an element of truth in this description, especially about the devastating effects of racial prejudice, but it is only part of a much bigger picture.

In fact, many people in this country—both whites and racial minorities—still live in financial insecurity: they are chronically unemployed or only marginally employed. And even those who have steady jobs face the ever-present threat of insecurity—for example, when it comes to getting sick or walking on the streets at night.

Nor are the attitudes of working people as simple as popular myth would have it. Andrew Levison's book, *The Working Class Majority*, demonstrates forcefully that blue collar workers are among the most liberal sector of the population on all major social issues. And increasingly, working people are becoming dissatisfied with the terms of life under capitalism—closed and corrupt government, the power of big business, harsh working conditions, the lack of personal fulfillment.

Thus, the first explanation takes a much too fixed and narrow view of the present state of the working class.

The second explanation as represented so far in the editorials of *In These Times*, has the strength of recognizing that the working class in this country carries with it not just racial antagonism or political

complacency, but traditions of democracy and egalitarianism that can form the basis for a socialist movement. It correctly criticizes those leftists who ignore or act against these traditions.

But *ITT* errs in ignoring the question of the power and awareness of the working class. For *ITT* the responsibility for social change rests on socialists who must "enter electoral politics as socialists with their focus on the legislative branch at all levels of government from the City Council to Congress."

This approach fails to take into account that any struggle for real power must be predicated on the actual balance of forces in society. Socialists by themselves do not win elections—or any other struggle. It is not simply a question of the weaknesses of the left, but of the strength and political development of the working class itself. And the sad fact is that the working class in the U.S. still does not sense or act on its power as a class.

The evidence of this can be found in the setbacks of the last decade—the abandonment of federal housing and social welfare programs (and with them the central cities); a redistribution of the GNP to reduce workers' share; an intensified (and largely successful) effort to use racial prejudice to increase conflict among working people.

None of this is to say that socialists should not be willing and able to participate in elections even now if it makes tactical sense to do so. But it is to say that to really be in the electoral arena as socialists and as serious contenders, we cannot be there as lone ideologues, but must be part of a socialist tendency within a strong working class movement.

It is precisely the lack of emphasis on analyzing this movement's present reality or on urging socialists to help build its present struggles that makes *In These*

Times electoral proposals an abstraction.

In its editorial of Jan. 12, *In These Times* argues that the transformation of this society lies "...through the people that is, through socialist politics focused at this time upon the legislative branch." But in fact, the transformation of this society requires something much deeper. It requires the expansion of democracy to all spheres of life. This means not just providing an alternative candidate or electoral program (though this may be important), but actively organizing for democratic control and basic economic rights in the workplaces, communities, and other social institutions.

It is through direct and united action that people can begin to change the way they see themselves—as a collective force rather than as individual strivers, as a class with common interests rather than as competing or hostile races or sexes, as potentially powerful rather than permanently weak. It is this understanding that is missing from both of the previous explanations.

We are socialists in a country in which the dominant propaganda and the left's own errors have combined to create suspicion and fear of socialist ideas. This places a particular responsibility on us to define publicly and clearly our convictions and our program. *In These Times* is right to urge us in this direction. But we are also part of a working class that has lost its history, its collective identity, and often its will to struggle. These are problems that socialists did not create, and cannot by ourselves overcome, but ones that we must actively be part of helping to solve. *In These Times* should learn this lesson as well.

Roberta Lynch is National Secretary of the New American Movement. Her column appears regularly.

Editorial

China shakes the Maoists

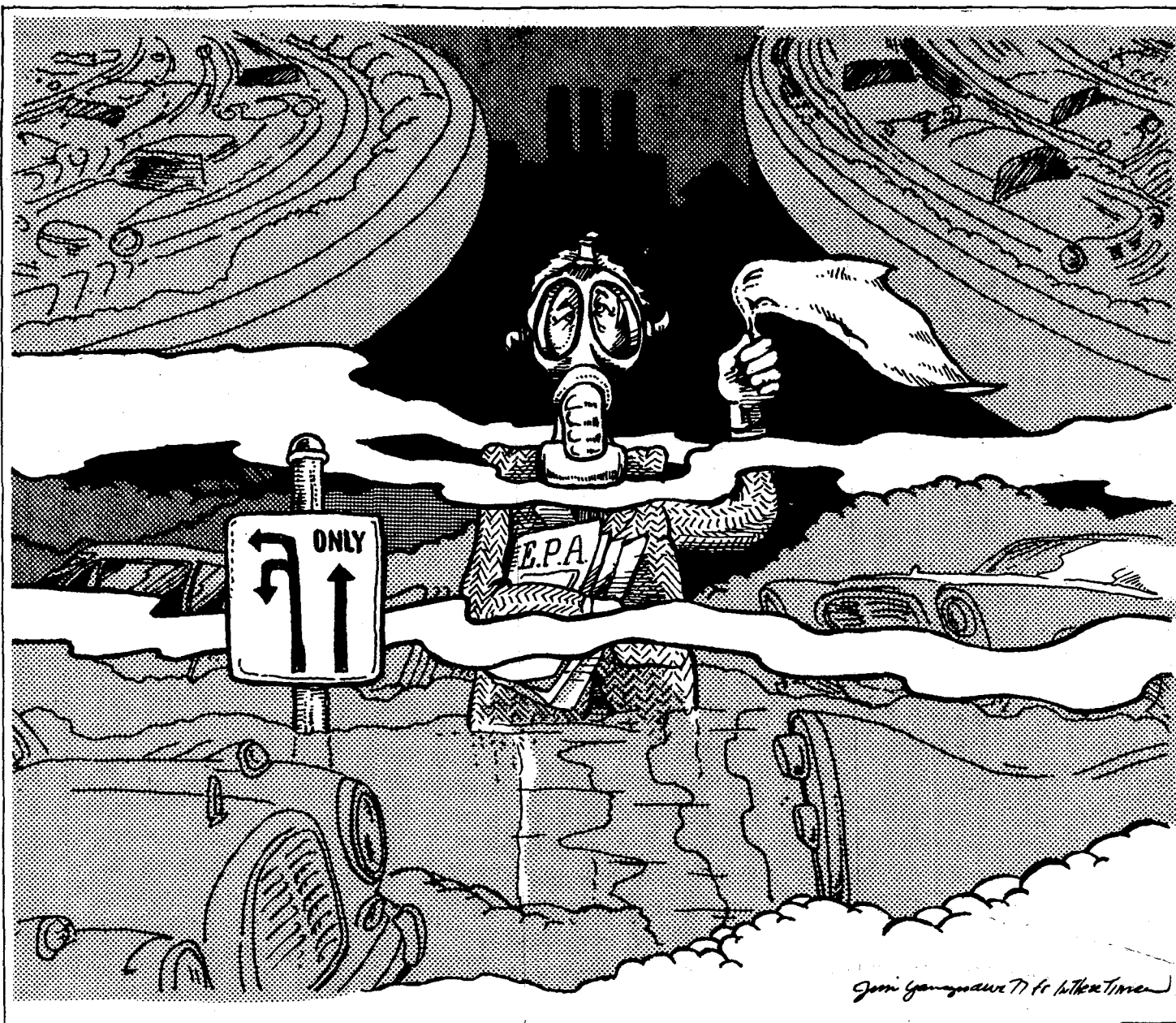
Once again, as happened to the world Communist movement in relation to the Soviet Union in 1956-57, a socialist country has confounded and disappointed its blindly partisan followers. And for the same reason as before—because the partisans, this time the world's Maoists, understood the meaning and nature of the revolution in China as a model and a guide for socialists everywhere, even in the U.S., rather than in the light of China's own history and culture.

What has happened, and is happening, in China since Mao's death flows out of 4,000 years of feudal and semi-feudal history, modified by a half-century of revolutionary upheaval and 28 years of Communist rule under Mao's leadership.

We do not know for certain whether the post-Mao developments, either the condemnation of the "gang of four" or the new pronouncements about "material" incentives are steps backward or forward. But we do know that whatever changes are occurring now and however much they are being imposed from above, the techniques used to make these changes and the current manipulations of Chinese public opinion are strikingly similar to the campaigns conducted while Mao was alive and well against Liu Shao Chi and Lin Biao. Furthermore, the shift in China's foreign policy, motivated by its conflict with the Soviet Union, dates back to well before 1969 and has entailed supporting reactionary forces in Bangladesh, Ceylon, Chile and Angola.

Measured by American principles and standards, even taking into account all the limitations on democracy and manipulations by corporate power and the media, the People's Republic of China has never had a national government of a western democratic type. It is not directly elected by the people. At the local level the people are actively involved in civic affairs, and in decision-making about production. The revolution has achieved this kind of democratization. But in a country where the overwhelming majority of the population has only just begun to read and write, where before 1949 hundreds of millions of peasants rarely travelled more than a few miles from their homes during their entire lives, it would be difficult to imagine that the population as a whole could be meaningfully involved in formulating national policy, much less international. That China has made tremendous progress, both in improving the material welfare of its people and in encouraging active participation in public affairs is admitted even by rational anti-communists. And, indeed, the present government, even while purging the "radical" leadership, has seen the necessity of promising to allow increased diversity of public expression by once again letting "a hundred flowers bloom."

The true friends of China should know that while it is legitimate to try to understand events and developments there, it is pointless at best and fatal at worst, to commit themselves to a politics in the U.S. that is based on what the Chinese leadership may be doing at the moment. The great strength of the Chinese revolution, and particularly of Mao himself, is that political programs were firmly based on the character of Chinese society and the real trends of its historical development. American socialists, if they wish to be more than a secular religious elite, should turn to an equally serious study of their own society and the real trends in its historical development.



Sick transit, inglorious EPA

In mid-January, the Environmental Protection Agency let it be known, unofficially, that it had abandoned plans to enforce the 1970 act aimed at reducing automobile traffic in New York and most other big cities. Pollution experts consider the reduction of the use of autos as a necessity if the public's health is to be protected.

The law itself was passed by Congress under pressure from various ecology and environmental groups. It is clear and explicit in its requirements. These include setting up preferential lanes for buses and car pools. The program created under the act to enforce these provisions has been under way three years, but as an agency official admitted, almost nothing has been accomplished.

Meanwhile, a few days before the EPA's admission and in contravention of the intention of the Environmental Protection Act, outgoing Secretary of Transportation William T. Coleman, allocated \$1.1 billion to build the 4.2 mile Westway as a replacement for the worn out West Side highway in New York. The Westway will bring many thousands of cars and trucks more easily and speedily into downtown Manhattan. It will, of course, also greatly increase downtown traffic, air pollution, and noise. Mass transit, which is pitifully inadequate in New York, was given the crumb of a previously budgeted \$78 million, about 7 percent of the amount allocated in Coleman's billion dollar subsidy of the automobile industry.

For those concerned about public health and safety (think about the Lung Association's radio spots about "avoiding polluted air") or those concerned about the depletion of natural resources (primarily oil, but also the various metals used in auto manufacture) and for those concerned about respect for the law, the

EPA's unwillingness to do what Congress created it to do and Secretary Coleman's violation of legislated public policy should be intolerable. Yet there has been no public outcry against the EPA's inaction. There is a lively dispute over Westway, but it appears likely that the opposition won't be great enough both to stop the highway's construction and to force the transfer of the \$1.1 billion for the improvement of the subways and commuter railroads serving New York.

They will not likely do so because in the U.S. the automobile industry is the single largest and most important manufacturing industry. Any serious curtailment of auto usage, no matter how desirable from an environmental, a health or a conservationist point of view, would be opposed both by those primarily concerned with corporate profitability and those concerned with employment. For autos are not only the major source of corporate profits—directly or indirectly—but are also the major source of employment—either in direct production of autos and automobile components or in service and repair.

Modern commuter railroads, subways and elevateds and even electric trolley cars and buses would be a much more rational, efficient, comfortable, and inexpensive way of transporting people to and from work. From the point of view of social rationality the advantages are clear and compelling. But our society operates on the principle of profit rationality, not social rationality.

From the point of view of the rulers of corporate America it's easy to see why such a program is undesirable. They are much better off if their government continues to spend billions of dollars each year in subsidizing the auto and oil industries, precisely because it is socially inefficient and therefore requires the pro-

cessing and manufacture of socially superfluous, but highly profitable products.

But millions of workers and many unions and civic organizations not directly dominated by corporate interests also oppose serious transfers of public money from highway construction and other forms of automobile subsidies to mass transit, and from a socialist point of view that opposition is by far the more important. They do so because neither environmentalists and ecologists, nor socialists have provided a realistic alternative to the employment generated by the complex of industries involved in auto manufacture and use. Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Automobile Workers, for example, turned down the job of Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare largely because his union has supported the industry's opposition to the present law.

In a socialist society in the United States, where we already have the capacity for genuine abundance, the means of solving this problem will be readily available. Everyone who engages in some form of socially useful or desirable work will be able to receive a secure and comfortable income. But what about now?

Any practical proposal to reduce air pollution, reduce the waste of oil and other natural resources and to improve mass transit through government support (which is the only possible way) must come to grips with this problem. In political terms, the task is to separate the working class from the corporate interest in the transportation status quo. In our view that can only be done by making a frontal assault on the principle of profit rationality, with a program pushing publicly-owned mass transit, designed to create a large number of permanent jobs in construction, maintenance and service.